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Near East & South Asia

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REGIONAL

Egyptian Wafd Party Proposes Mediation Delegation for Sudan

45000108 London *AL-MAJALLAH* in Arabic
7 Feb 89 p 8

[Text] The Egyptian Wafd Party has proposed the formation of a broad Egyptian delegation composed of representatives from all of the political parties and forces, including the ruling National Democratic Party, that will be responsible for making contacts with Sudanese political forces and achieving a settlement among these forces, especially the Ummah Party and Democratic Unionist Party [DUP].

In its proposal, the Wafd Party affirmed that it had first approached several Sudanese leaders who recently visited Egypt concerning this proposal, and that they had announced that they welcomed it. Also, the Sudanese ambassador in Cairo sent a report to his government on the subject and got its agreement. The Wafd decided upon broadening the delegation instead of restricting it to certain members of the party's Executive Committee.

The Wafd explained in its proposal that Sudanese political forces, particularly the Ummah Party, have certain reservations about contacts that the Egyptian Government makes with the DUP and the government's open-door policy in its contacts with this party and no others, contradicting the Brotherhood Charter signed between the two countries in February 1988.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO Committee Member Theorizes on Intifadah's Progress

44040210 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
18 Dec 88 pp 21-23

[Interview with Akram Haniyah, PLO Intifadah Committee member, by Sa'adah Sudah: "Akram Haniyah: We Are in State of Strategic Offensive; I See in Intifadah Features of Social Revolution"—date and place not given]

[Text] Colleague Akram Haniyah has seen with his own eyes the popular intifadah [uprising] in the occupied bank and strip making its way through the people's pains and aspirations, and he has played a prominent role in the Intifadah Committee emanating from the PNC's [Palestine National Council] 19th session. We have conducted this interview with colleague Haniyah on the intifadah—its preludes, its procession, and its horizons:

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] In phrasing his profound view, French Socialist leader Lionel Jospin has characterized the intifadah as that which "is coming from a remote

distance." Others have seen it as a surprise. As an eyewitness, will you tell us about the intifadah's preludes?

[Haniyah] The intifadah's miracle and wisdom, rather its cause, is that it came at the right time. It came at the worst moment of the Arab retrogression era. The fermentation and labor process was long and difficult. Throughout 20 years, the intifadah's preludes were being entrenched in behavioral patterns, in living patterns, in new values, in frameworks, and in organization until the moment came and the sacred deluge erupted.

We don't blame the non-Arabs who felt amazed and surprised, even though I recall that a British lord who is a Liberal Party leader had the foresight to say upon his return to London from a visit to the occupied territories a week before the intifadah's eruption: A rebellion is about to occur. As for the Arabs who were amazed and surprised, their feelings emanate from the years of oppression and frustration which made these Arabs, including factions of the Arab national liberation movement, lose their faith in the masses' ability and in the benefit of accumulated struggle. Some of them were even trapped in the snares of the propaganda which tried to find unreal bannerlines for the intifadah in its first months and tried to seek illogical explanations for its eruption. The intifadah was an exception to and a departure from the Arab scene existing at the time. However, it crowned and represented the epitome of a harmonious logic.

What Are the Preludes?

They are the people's life throughout 20 years. They are the epic of the ceaseless resistance against the occupation. The two most important preludes are: The crystallization of the identity of people whose revolution erupted in 1965—an identity which intensified and was entrenched by the PLO in the wake of the 1967 aggression, the identity of people who moved forth to strengthen this identity and to reformulate its features through the struggle that has become daily conduct which ranges from armed action to wearing [traditional Palestinian] embroidered robes and to building kindergartens, and the identity of people whose generations have matured amidst the fire of revolution and occupation.

The second prelude is the Palestinian national movement's ceaseless struggle which entrenched the resistance concept and turned it into the ordinary and prevalent concept. This struggle built nurturing nests for the resistance by creating popular frameworks, seeking to entroll in its ranks the masses that now form the intifadah's base.

The intifadah is the right answer to the right questions, the logical end to a well-known beginning, and the definite conclusion to clear preludes. However, we should credit the intifadah with a great degree of ability to amaze, to evoke feelings, and to surprise. This degree of ability lies not in its taking off but in its continued flight. It lies not just in this confident and beautiful march toward serious yet certain appointments with

freedom, but also in the immense popular ability to give boundlessly, to exercise amazing organizational discipline, and to possess superior political awareness under the PLO's banner.

Let Us Call It National Disobedience

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] The intifadah has been constantly seeking to develop its struggle instruments in preparation for embarking on the "comprehensive civil" disobedience phase. What are the conditions which, to your mind, must be present to reach this phase? In other words, what is the Palestinian formula for "civil disobedience?"

[Haniyah] Let us first call it national disobedience, and let us then agree here on a point that does not allow us to fall captive to the temptation of slogans and that is connected with a careful, practical evaluation of the development of the phases of the intifadah, with its popular preparedness, and with the possibility of the presence of opportune conditions.

The fact of the matter is that since the third month of the intifadah, forms of national disobedience have been practiced and continue to be practiced. A quick review of the intifadah's literature, especially of the UNC [Unified National Command] appeals, demonstrates how the practice of numerous forms of disobedience has progressed gradually, beginning with the refusal to pay taxes and to obey military orders levying fines and imposing curfews, and ending with the resignation of policemen and of the employees of some appointed municipal councils. All this has led to accomplishing a fundamental part of the core of national disobedience, i.e., it has imposed the people's parallel revolutionary authority on the homeland's soil, making this authority the antithesis of and the alternative to the occupation authority which is being dealt painful successive blows by the masses.

The UNC has given the PLO and the revolution honorable testimony. It has proven that the long years of struggle have fallen within a careful framework with specific objectives and that they have polished the national movement at home and have armed it with maturity, experience, responsible vigilance, a profound awareness of the masses' temperament and capability, and with the wisdom to manage development of the intifadah's phases. These are the most important lessons of the organizational issue. The UNC has not fallen to the temptation of blazing the phases and has not allowed itself to become captive to the glow of successive success. It has not fallen captive to patternism and has not succumbed to a monotonous tempo incapable of development and of utilizing the high popular preparedness. The process has gradually escalated and intensified the various forms of participation by our people's classes in the intifadah. The process has stressed the priority of the practical over the propaganda-oriented by turning its attention to achieving accomplishments on the ground, which is the main thing, even though these accomplishments do not have the propaganda reverberations of a

propaganda-oriented accomplishment. The national movement in our homeland has thus been able to cement our people's unity. Thanks to this revolutionary approach which learns from the masses, the national movement has been able to avoid the pitfalls of raising slogans unattainable in the foreseeable future.

Entrenchment of the intifadah process as daily conduct and as a life pattern—and this reflects our people's inimitability—coupled with entrenchment of the people's authority through the UNC and the popular committees will certainly lead to the peak of civil disobedience. For the past 2 months, the intifadah has strongly reaffirmed its control of the initiative—control which it has never lost since it erupted—in the face of an absolutely mad oppression exercised by our country's occupiers.

Group Spirit

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] The intifadah is, for example, facing indubitable economic and educational difficulties. How are these difficulties tackled?

[Haniyah] The occupier has focused on the economic war, misguidedly believing that it is capable of subjugating the intifadah. He has employed the starvation war, taxes, the closure of businesses, and the war against olives and agricultural crops. In a related development, he has launched the war of making ignorant by closing the universities, institutes, and schools.

To begin, we must note that confronting this war and diminishing its catastrophic consequences relies primarily on the intifadah masses themselves. The comprehensive spirit of cooperation, the adoption of austere living patterns, turning to home economics by returning to the land and forming popular education committees have all formed the mainstays foiling the objectives of the economic war and the war of making ignorant.

However, this is certainly not enough. If we were living within the framework of a logical Arab scene, the Arab support for the intifadah would rise above the zero level at which most of the Arab countries stand in terms of supporting this intifadah. To date, not a single penny of the appropriations decided by the Algiers summit has been paid. However, the distinguished positions of some Arab countries and the activities of the popular committees in other countries should be noted.

Despite this, the PLO has devoted its capabilities to supporting the intifadah. As of the first moment, the emphasis has been put on the more seriously harmed sectors, such as refugee camp inhabitants and the workers. Attention and interest have been devoted to following up on the cases of the families of the martyred, wounded, and detained, and emphasis has been put on contributing to solving the problems of specific sectors, such as the agricultural, industrial, and tourism sectors.

The UNC, the popular committees, the popular frameworks, and the national organizations have been used as channels to deliver this aid by virtue of their ability to achieve the highest levels of efficient performance, and also to strengthen their role as the intifadah's arms and base.

I should note here the distinguished role performed by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in aiding refugee camp inhabitants. One should also note that the family solidarity spirit that has spread throughout the Palestinian gatherings in the diaspora has generated a movement which has contributed a significant share of aid.

In this time of intifadah, emphasis is also put on the possibility of utilizing any aid to serve the objectives of developing the institutions and of strengthening the infrastructures of our coming state.

Palestinian Model

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] In one year of its life, the intifadah has made numerous accomplishments. What, in your opinion, is the most significant and central accomplishment?

[Haniyah] It is difficult for us, we who have been living in the intifadah time, to encompass all the immense historic dimensions of this unique and singular movement. The world after 8 December 1987 is not the world we knew prior to this bright date. The intifadah has become the code word or the magic key.

To begin, we can say that the intifadah process, which is the result of the revolutionary accumulation, has accomplished the mission of assuming its prominent place in our people's struggle procession as a turning point and as the beginning of a new era in the procession of the Arab and world national liberation movement and as a unique pattern offering a new model and simultaneously seeking inspiration from other peoples' experiences.

The intifadah has strengthened the Palestinian revolution's decisive transformation from a pioneer revolution to a revolution waged by the people, has retransferred the center of conflict and confrontation to the occupied homeland's arena, and has bolstered the reality of the unbreakable unity between the people, their revolution and their leadership, and our people's gatherings wherever they exist.

One can note the immense accomplishments made by the intifadah at the international level and the difficult questions which it has raised and which have begun to knock at the wall of the Israeli "ghetto."

We can say that the intifadah is the midwife delivering the independence and proclaiming the rise of the independent state and that it has played a historic role in formulating national unity and in entrenching this unity within the PLO's framework.

One can also note tens of bannerlines on great accomplishments at various levels. However, I wish to focus on an extremely important point: The intifadah encompasses in its core the features of a social revolution that is reshaping the structure and features of the Palestinian society in the motherland—a revolution that is reinforcing behavioral and living patterns and revolutionary values that have grown as a result of the growth of the seeds that were planted in the Palestinian space and time with the inception of our modern revolution. These are a set of behavioral patterns and of values that serve and meet the conditions of continuing and escalating the intifadah.

At the heart of this point lie the exploding creative innovation, the creative popular initiatives which constitute a part of the immense popular preparedness and the awareness and enactment of the organizational process within the intifadah's ranks in a manner that has evoked the world's admiration and the Israelis' insane anger.

Intifadah Committee

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] You are a member of the Intifadah Committee which has emanated from the PNC's 19th session. What is your assessment of the recommendations made by the committee and approved by the PNC, and what hopes are attached to them?

[Haniyah] The Intifadah Committee's recommendations reflect a general agreement in analyzing the intifadah's procession, its horizons, and its needs. They also reflect an understanding of the tasks required at the various levels to bolster the intifadah.

The recommendations constitute a working program which the people have been implementing since the intifadah's outbreak and which requires greater efforts by the moment so that we may reach a phase in which we will be able to fully utilize Palestinian, Arab, and international capabilities to serve the objective of continuing and escalating the intifadah so it may accomplish the objectives it has raised—freedom and independence.

It is important to note constantly that our people, wherever they may exist outside the occupied homeland, are required to offer a lot and that we are required to attain or—to put it modestly—to seek to attain the historic performance level represented by the intifadah.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] Completing his visualization of the intifadah, Jospin says that the intifadah "will go far." How do you view the coming phase in light of the latest developments, namely: Proclamation of the state, the political program, and the Israeli and U.S. elections?

[Haniyah] The intifadah is moving confidently toward that which has come close within our sight and within the reach of our stones and our hands. It is proceeding toward freedom and independence. The creation of a state has never been closer to realization than it is now,

or we have never been as close to a state as we are nowadays. The beautiful sons, daughters, children, and men who are falling on our country's soil are shortening the occupation's life and they are paving more distance on the path to freedom.

The proclamation of independence and of the creation of a state has given the intifadah new strength and momentum, and the 19th session's resolutions have armed it with the new struggle weapon. We are now experiencing our best Palestinian conditions and moments, and we are in a phase of strategic offensive in which we are waging the battle of embodying our state on the earth. The proclamation of this state is not just a political, psychological, and propaganda issue and does not just strengthen a well-known objective. This proclamation also reflects the labor being experienced by the birth of this state on the earth through the continued bolstering of the people's revolutionary authority in the occupied homeland.

The Israeli elections have provided an indication of the crisis entrenched in Israeli society, which is fleeing toward darker options. The intifadah has created cracks in this society. But time and various kinds [of efforts] are needed to extend the cracks to the heart. Until then, we must brace for further escalation in the brutal oppression.

As for the U.S. elections, they reflect a continuation of Reaganism through Bush who, though within the same ideological circle, is perhaps more pragmatic.

But what has been produced by the two states which stand alone in the frost of international isolation, as demonstrated by the vote taken a few days ago by the UN General Assembly against the U.S. decision not to grant brother Abu 'Ammar a visa to enter New York, is not the most important issue. There is another important point, namely, the ability of the winds of international relaxation to blow on, or our ability to attract them to our region.

There remains the primary and most decisive point, namely, the intifadah. This historical process, which is intensifying in our country, is proving that it is capable of making the change, of upturning the balances of power, and of forcing everybody to recognize the Palestinian reality. The intifadah, which is now at the peak of its battle to embody our state on the ground, is the stronger and more decisive factor.

AL-FAJR Editor Interviewed at Socialist International Conference

44040170 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
16 Dec 88 p 33

[Interview with Hanna Sanyurah by Muhammad al-Rafrani in Paris; date not given]

[Text] When AL-HAWADITH met with Hanna Sanyurah, chief editor of Palestinian newspaper AL-FAJR, during the meeting of the Socialist International Conference in the

Hilton-Orly Hotel in Paris this week under the chairmanship of former German chancellor Willy Brandt, the conference was still in session. Sanyurah was invited to attend in his own capacity. We had the following interview with him:

[Al-Rafrani] You were invited to attend the Socialist International conference held in Paris. What did the council say about the Palestine problem?

[Hanna Sanyurah] The Socialist International meeting took the Palestine National Council [PNC] resolutions into consideration in a positive manner. At the same time it said that the right to self-determination as demanded by the Palestinians is the right to establish a state. It conveyed this meaning in reference to the Algiers declaration of independence. It also called for convening an international peace conference under UN supervision and the attendance of the five permanent Security Council member states and the parties concerned. At the same time it called upon the United States to initiate dialogue with the Palestinians through their representatives.

[Al-Rafrani] Which representatives?

[Sanyurah] During the debate it was mentioned that the PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people, but because of the presence of Israeli representatives in the meeting, they were content to merely use the term "representatives" [instead of referring to the PLO]. The conference also called on Israel to implement the Geneva convention on human rights, to reopen the Palestinian institutes, and to facilitate their work.

[Al-Rafrani] There is talk about an imminent tour of the area by the "Middle East Committee" set up by Socialist International...

[Sanyurah] In fact, this committee, which is headed by a member of the German Socialist Party, will visit countries of the area, including the PLO. This is to be followed by convening a conference for consultation to which some PNC members and the five permanent members of the Security Council will be invited preparatory to convening an international conference. Naturally, Socialist International adopts its decisions unanimously, although there is a certain contradiction in the stands of the group members.

[Al-Rafrani] What about Israel's influence on the Socialist International resolutions?

[Sanyurah] The Israeli side is represented by two parties: the Labor Party and the MAPAM Party [Israeli Workers Party]. They are permanent members and so they influence the procedures and resolutions, particularly with regard to the Middle East.

[Al-Rafrani] Didn't the failure to mention the PLO arouse any reaction among the Arab members?

[Sanyurah] In fact there was objection to the failure to endorse the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. But at the same time it was thought it would be better that a resolution be issued by Socialist International leading to supporting the idea of convening an international conference and to upholding the preservation of Palestinian human rights.

[Al-Rafrani] Did you talk with the Swedish prime minister who attended the first day of the conference regarding 'Arafat's visit to Stockholm?

[Sanyurah] During the first day of the Socialist International meeting, the Swedish prime minister delivered a speech about the world economic situation and development. He said that he was going back to Stockholm in order to arrange for a meeting between 'Arafat and some members of the American Jewish community. I would like to point out here that the Swedish official has affirmed that Sweden is still following the path of late prime minister Ulaf Palme who was working for the establishment of peace and security in the world, especially in the Middle East.

[Al-Rafrani] You were invited to the Paris meeting in your own capacity and as a guest. What conclusion can we draw from this invitation?

[Sanyurah] In fact, Brother Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, the dean of lawyers in the Gaza sector, and I were invited. On the other hand, the French Socialist Party invited a PLO representative to attend as an observer.

[Al-Rafrani] You were also invited to the French Senate. Why?

[Sanyurah] In order to explain to French public opinion and the French Jewish community what the Palestinian people are doing on their land, especially after the passage of 1 year since the glorious intifadah [uprising] and, at the same time, to clarify the bold resolutions adopted by the PNC.

[Al-Rafrani] How do you read the French attitude toward the intifadah?

[Sanyurah] What President Mitterrand says is a position which is moving toward recognizing the Palestinian state. We want France to play a constructive role in convening an international conference. Throughout the past years the French role has been one of supporting the Palestinian right to self-determination. We want France to translate this by seeking to end the occupation and achieve peace.

[Al-Rafrani] What about your expectations regarding the future government in Israel? Will the matter end up with the formation of a rightist government or a coalition government?

[Sanyurah] According to most predictions, there will not be a rightist government, but a broad coalition between the Likud and the Labor. The continuation of the present political paralysis in Israel at the expense of the peace process will be a serious matter. At the same time the Palestinian people's sufferings will increase, because there will be no change in the ministry of defense, which will continue to be headed by Yitzhaq Rabin.

EGYPT

Official Discusses Reasons for Low Voter Registration

45040164C Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with Major General Ahmad Rasikh, assistant interior minister and director of General Elections Administration, by Iman Mustafa; place and date not given]

[Text] To begin with, President Husni Mubarak has said on more than one occasion, "It doesn't make sense that the city of Cairo is the republic's first governorate in terms of population density and number of universities and colleges, a source of educational and cultural enlightenment (all newspapers and books are published there and the radio and television media are broadcast from there), and possesses the largest network of telephones, electricity, and services, and yet ranks fifth among Egyptian governorates in number of people registered to vote. In the last elections for the People's Assembly, 200,000 people voted, out of 12 million living in Cairo. About 10 million of the latter have the right to register their opinion, but they forego this right of theirs and make no effort to register their names on the voter rolls. One million people have election cards, but unfortunately do not fulfill their obligation. They probably left work on the pretext of voting, but went home instead!"

In this interview with Maj Gen Ahmad Rasikh, assistant interior minister and director of the General Elections Administration, we concentrate on procedures, numbers, and difficulties involved in the process of registering names on the voter rolls.

[AL-AHRAM] In your capacity as the person most responsible for voter lists, and also as the person most accused of making errors in those lists, do errors actually exist, and what is the way to correct them?

[Rasikh] I cannot deny that there are accumulated errors in the election lists. Possible solutions include:

First, the lists could be deleted, redone, and reviewed.

The national number system could be implemented. I still think this would be difficult to do in the short term.

Another solution remains—the only available hope of revising the lists so that they come to agree with reality. It would cost the citizen only $\frac{1}{2}$ hour for the length of his

entire life. The cost would be extremely small, compared to the benefit to the citizen and hence to society as a whole. To be more specific, I say that each citizen should go to the residence of the shaykh of the district where he lives or to which he belongs (he can get the information from the police precinct or branch belonging to it) and ask to register his name on the voter roll. All that would be asked of him would be to fill out the information on a form that he obtains free of charge. Afterwards, he would obtain his "birth certificate" as an adult citizen with an opinion and vote and the right to use his vote freely to build up his country—I mean his voting card.

Only in this simple way can the existing rolls be corrected, particularly since Law 73 (1956) on the exercise of political rights guarantees every citizen who has reached the age of 18 that his name will be registered automatically on the lists according to the registries of births. If a citizen reaches this age, but lives in an area or governorate other than the one in which he was born, he should, as I said before, go to the district shaykh to change his voter residence. His name will be deleted from the first area (the one in which he was born) to avoid duplication. If each citizen makes an effort to correct the lists, it will be possible to obtain immediate results.

Party and Union Responsibility

[AL-AHARAM] As for the names actually registered, how can they be determined to be sound?

[Rasikh] Unfortunately, we have become used to apathy and indifference. The law guarantees that any citizen registered on the lists may come forward to correct any error in the lists displayed in the various parts of the country from 10 January until the end of the month so as to enable everybody to get information for himself or for others.

The Governorates and Electoral Consciousness

[AL-AHARAM] Could you give us an idea of each governorate's place or rank in terms of electoral consciousness, number of voters registered, and the number who vote?

[Rasikh] In fact, the vote distribution map in Egypt is exactly the opposite of most countries. At the invitation of the American Government, I witnessed the recent presidential elections. Naturally, in [states of] the United States where the educational level is high, interest in voting is much greater than in states where there are numerous ethnic groups or where the educational level is low.

I say that the map is reversed [in Egypt], because the country's major cities, where cultural manifestations are concentrated, rank behind other governorates lacking the same level of culture. For example, Cairo Governorate, the capital, ranks fifth among the country's governorates in voter registration.

[AL-AHARAM] Since you mentioned your having followed the American elections, is there anything we might borrow from them and apply in Egypt?

[Rasikh] I would not be exaggerating if I said that about 70 percent of organizational procedures for elections in Egypt resemble corresponding procedures in force in the United States—voter rolls, committees, ballots. The difference centers on the advanced means that are used and that facilitate voting, vote counting, and tallying so as to announce results.

Women Only 28.53 Percent of Registrants

[AL-AHARAM] What about women and the role they can play in any elections?

[Rasikh] In 1987, women registrants represented 28.53 percent of total registrants on voter rolls throughout the republic. The registration of women was optional until 1979, when the law was amended to make a woman's registration mandatory as long as she has reached the age of 18. Thus, any woman who has passed age 27 and does not have in her possession a voter registration card should make an effort to procure one. In other words, any woman born in 1961 or before should immediately procure a voting card.

[AL-AHARAM] According to the voter registers you have before you, where are the young people?

[Rasikh] To speak with utter frankness, I find fault with young people. Sometimes you find them enthusiastic and active, printing brochures and putting out wall magazines in elections, particularly student ones. Sometimes they even become involved in certain illegitimate activities. Yet we find the same young people becoming listless at the time of elections that affect the country's real future.

According to statistics, young people registered to vote represent no more than 30 percent of the total number of young people in Egypt. This fact is of course shameful for young people.

[AL-AHARAM] We have a suggestion for broadening the circle of participants in political life, particularly young people. Every young person who applies for a job in any [government] agency or who applies to the university coordinating office should be required to show his voting card. Hiring priority would be given to those who participated in expressing their opinion in the most recent elections. To what extent could this suggestion be implemented?

[Rasikh] This suggestion might be useful if the relevant government agencies adopted it. However, I think the exercise of political rights ought to spring from the person himself.

What About the Dead Voting?

[AL-AHARAM] We would like a frank answer to the following question: Is it true that the dead participate in

elections and that the deceased occupy a considerable portion of the voter lists?

[Rasikh] That is jesting and idle talk. Instead of wasting their time repeating such things, I implore those who talk about how the dead leave the grave to cast their votes to help us review the lists that will be published in January and request the deletion of anyone who is proven to be deceased, yet whose name is still registered on the lists.

[AL-AHRAM] How do you explain the contradictory registration figures the Elections Administration announces at the time of elections and afterwards?

[Rasikh] I want to explain that the number of people registered changes approximately every month due to the suspension of political activity for anyone who is drafted and the restoration of this activity for each group discharged from the police or armed forces. Also, exercise of political rights is suspended under the law for everyone convicted of a felony. So the number of people registered on the lists changes several times during the year.

One last word to anyone who has reached or passed the age of 18: Go to your nearest police precinct and ask about the shaykh located in your district. Then, without delay, take 1/2 hour of your time to procure your "birth certificate" as a citizen with an opinion and a vote.

NPUG Party Leader Interviewed on Domestic Affairs

45040144 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic
19 Dec 88 pp 36-42, 86

[Interview with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUG] leader, by 'Amr 'Abd-al-Sami'; in Cairo, date not given]

[Text] They are not specialists in economics, but when they speak about it, they strike into its very depths with their specializations and confront us with a distinctive and profoundly felt vision. Let us invite them to be guests in AL-IQTISADI's parlor.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, a revolutionary whose career spans two generations!

Today, he step into AL-IQTISADI's parlor to record in his own words an important chapter in a debate that we all have wanted to be national.

Visions drive him. Ideas pour from his mind, as he delineates with care some features of the picture of the leftist mind or the leftist movement in Egypt.

Speaking of cares, the revolutionary whose career spans two generations states that these cares are not the agonies of a wounded man or the sorrows of a party. The care of the party is the care of the country; the sorrows of the individual are the sorrows of the nation.

Speaking of hope, the revolutionary whose career spans two generations (Egypt has known his name for 36 years) soars into a broad, democratic horizon and an even broader firmament of political imagination. He states that national salvation is everybody's job, and that his party never for a moment retreated from participating in any effort for Egypt's sake.

Khalid's conversation begins and ends with this national commitment and patriotic discipline. He refutes many falsehoods and illusions that govern the thinking of those who do not know the meaning of national commitment and that muddle the performance of those who do not understand the meaning of patriotic discipline.

Because of worthless calculations or the even more worthless side effects of these calculations, some in Egypt think the political division is not about intellectual and political choices for solving the country's problems, but must be about the country itself!

These want Egypt to be two, three, or four Egypts. They do not understand that visions and paths may be numerous, while the country remains one.

Many have not yet realized (Mubarak has instructed those who are willing to learn) that opposition forces are part of the Egyptian political system, not an independent system per se that confronts the government system and wages war against it.

Many have not yet understood (Mubarak has enlightened those who are willing to reflect) that opposition leaders are patriotic, Egyptian leaders who must share in confronting the country's chronic and momentary problems. Even from a practical standpoint, the NDP and its government cannot solve the country's problems single-handedly. Even from the standpoint of self-interest, all these problems cannot fall into its lap, and its lap alone, when it is not responsible for the majority of them.

In the interview room, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din examines the elements of the leftist option in Egypt and the new ideas that have entered it. He explains the extent of internal democracy in his party and focuses light on some of the NPUG's national contributions on various issues and on various occasions.

Speaking in the interview room for the NPUG, he answers charges that prominent leftist cultural and literary figures have leveled. He speaks frankly about the tactical alliance about democracy with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din and about the limits of this alliance. He discusses the AL-AHALI situation and all the surrounding events. He clarifies the bounds of agreement and disagreement among the factions of his party, and how party or political accounts are settled only on the basis of the platform. He relates particular incidents relating to the Nasirists' stand toward the NPUG and the NPUG's stand toward the Nasirists.

The man whose career spans two generations now proceeds to talk about individual and nation, cares and hopes, party and regime.

A Program: Guiding the Capitalist Economy Is Our Tactical Goal

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] In the economic and social areas, do you think certain elements in the program of the Egyptian left generally and in the NPUG's program specifically have reached their "expiration date"?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] How? What issue do you mean?

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] There are many examples. Let us take the nationalization issue as an example.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Nationalization is not a slogan at issue in Egypt's present situation or for the foreseeable future.

The NPUG has not proposed nationalization in either its short-term or strategic platform now. However, it wants to preserve the public sector and insure it a leadership role in development, in addition to the private sector.

The NPUG's main fight is to save Egypt in its economic crisis and solve the crisis of the Egyptian economy's increasing reliance on abroad. This means the achievement of economic independence and economic freedom of will.

In this context, nationalization is not currently being proposed, but it is not to be rejected in certain cases, if circumstances demand it.

What is happening now with the investment companies is a form of nationalization, though in behalf of the companies' general [shareholder] associations. It is a kind of state intervention, or the implementation of an increasing role for the central bank or the state banking system in controlling particular sorts of financial and economic activity.

Thus I cannot say that the slogan of nationalization (the people's ownership of the means and tools of production) has become extinct. In a particular situation, however, circumstances may require that this slogan not be raised.

We can see an example of this in the Soviet Union. As a result of a crisis in administration, they are giving greater room to the private sector at a certain stage. In no way does this mean abandonment of the socialist goal.

So I say that the left's idea of bringing society to socialism has not ended; however, this process need not take the same form that it took at a particular stage or time.

There is a structural crisis in the Egyptian economy now. The economy must be rebuilt. There is economic reliance on abroad, making it necessary once again to define and raise for discussion the concepts of economic independence and economic development.

We want to build independent development. Experience has proven that the state cannot insure achievement of the goal singlehandedly, without bringing in the private sector to participate. One must also reject the idea that the private sector by itself can play this role. The private sector by itself is a "weak leg," and the economy cannot walk except on two legs!

This is not just our opinion. It is even the opinion of the American experts who came to establish banks and deal with the private and public sectors. They stipulated that the public sector should place some of its money in those banks. When Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi, who was then prime minister, asked whether the private sector was not sufficient, they answered that the private sector by itself was "a weak leg."

If to all this we add the fact that we live in a world whose economic structures have been complicated by the existence of giant corporations and the monopolies of international capitalism, it becomes very doubtful whether the private sector can move to undertake real development and protect national independence. The most likely outcome is that this sector will lead us to become part of international capitalism, and doubtlessly a very weak part.

Therefore, I am not one of those who think that, given an opportunity, capitalism, under Egyptian or Third World conditions, will be able to undertake development.

We can see the experience of Korea and Brazil. Development has indeed occurred in both countries, and we speak a great deal about them, but we do not mention any of the tremendously big problems that confront either of the two experiences.

On this basis, capitalism can play a role in Egypt, but with the state's protection and presence. Without state protection or a principal role for the state, this capitalism will not be able to perform any role. In return, as long as the state is going to support it, capitalism must make provision for realizing the state's social demands; for the state represents the masses of Egyptians. Thus the desired social balance will be achieved through the entire economic process.

Thus, when the left raises ideas such as controlling the national surplus, directing it toward the service of society, and the state's leading role in development, it is not at all behind the times. On the contrary, I think that Egypt's present economic circumstances convince us that if the state had a larger role in development, many problems we now suffer would disappear.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] These are general expressions and concepts. If we were to translate them into particulars, what new elements might the Egyptian left's vision now contain, taking into consideration the economic and social changes our society has witnessed, and recognizing that the entire world economy is leaning toward some sort of mixed economy?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The question of a mixed economy is not new to us. If you read the NPUG platform, you will not find it to be against a mixed economy; you will not even find it to be against the Open Door Policy!

But we have laid down conditions for the acceptance of foreign capital. We are not against the principle—but on condition that acceptance of the capital come within the context of the plan.

An open door does not mean that capital should come whenever and however it thinks best. An open door means that capital comes by invitation and that we lay before it a plan and projects. Naturally, these projects must be profitable; capital will never come unless profit is guaranteed.

One precondition for the flow of capital into a country such as ours is the existence of a strong economy and a strong government resting on a real majority and real forces. Capital will venture into a country in which this condition is fulfilled, even if it is ruled by a 100 percent socialist government!

Good management of this large economic operation means, first of all, the presence of thought to organize and plan, in order to attract capital to new large industries that need technology and experience not available with us. For example, if we were to establish a petrochemical industry by ourselves in Egypt, we would have a great deal of trouble, because this industry has by-products that we might not be able to exploit efficiently. But if we established this industry under an agreement with a large international organization, we might be able to reach an understanding with it at the time of the agreement that we would export all or some of these by-products to it.

By nature and necessity we are not against capital that comes to us and develops our export capability; however, if capital comes for a domestic consumption-oriented enterprise, and I give it the return in dollars, I am the loser. Likewise, when capital comes to acquire real estate and buildings, this cannot be considered investment and is in no way connected with development.

That capital should be attracted to establish industry that will decrease importation from abroad is a condition that falls within the framework of the required calculation regarding the entry of foreign capital.

Finally, there must be coordination according to the priorities of the plan, so that everything does not go into one field—banks, tourism companies, for-profit hospitals, or the soft drink companies that have multiplied needlessly without proper calculation.

Thus, when there is planning—the definition of priorities—we shall avoid much of what we have suffered by swinging the door wide open. Such planning will require that Egyptian capital be brought in along with foreign capital. In this way mixing will occur. This formula will be better, because we shall avoid the corruption of foreign capital by putting the state's interests with it and defending them.

That as regards planning.

Also on the subject of planning, I would say that success in it means the achievement of goals. How shall we ask foreign capital to come and participate in the projects of a plan that does not achieve its goals? This happened in the first plan, which took as its goal nonreliance on abroad, abolition of importation without currency conversion, and putting millions of unemployed to work, but achieved none of this.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Mr Khalid, don't we have to admit that all this was to some degree achieved?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Of course it must inevitably be achieved to some degree, but not in the end to the extent of the goals that were set.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Has there been any development plan in Egyptian history that realized its goals 100 percent and was not lacking?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Yes, the plan that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir laid out in 1962 more or less realized its goals.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Notice, you said "more or less"!

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The proportion at the time was greater, and it was not the case that the 1962 plan brought about the opposite of its goals. As for the 1982 plan, it stated that putting 1-2 million unemployed to work was one of its goals; yet unemployment increased afterwards!

You can reply to me by saying that had the plan not been laid out after the 1982 economic conference, the results would have been even more serious. That is completely true.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Do you feel that the participation of NPUG experts in the 1982 economic conference influenced the government's path of returning to a commitment to 5-year development plans?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Their participation influenced the decisions that emerged—for example, emphasis that the imbalance in the Egyptian economy was a structural one, that commodity sector development and growth were required, and similar ideas.

But when it comes to application, we find that the commodity sectors—proportionately—have not achieved the required amount of growth. Industrial and agricultural commodity production has lagged behind the reality. This is shown by the fact that most of the loans that we get are used for consumption, or we put them into structural and urbanization projects—a great mistake!

Egypt's greatest crisis after the 1973 war was this imbalance. We should have repaired the structure and set out gradually into urbanization. The Egyptian economy has been worn out by rushing at full speed toward structure and urbanization.

We would be asking for half development and half urbanization, or for urbanization in the context of development, so that we increase the capacity of our economy and succeed in repaying some debts. Spending predominantly on what are called structure projects and neglect of production are bringing us to an emergency situation as regards the debt repayment process. We are continually being forced to go into debt; we even incur debts in order to consume!

I would say that when we participate in a conference like the economic one, we have no illusions that what we say will be completely accepted. However, we were trying to say that there was another viewpoint and that the government had to become acquainted with it and understand its elements.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Granting the importance of this other viewpoint and also the soundness of what NPUG experts proposed in some of these matters, I notice that the party's publicity concentration is based on a formula that I would set forth as follows:

"I am a party not in power. All that is required of me, therefore, is that I offer proposals and theoretical ideas. Then I practice the easy solution—pressure on the government from this comfortable position. Even though the government is in a position where it would be very difficult for it or anyone else to move in any way better than is now taking place, I demand that it find a way to a solution."

In the matter of debts, for example, you admit that the government is forced to go further into debt. Nevertheless, forces outside the government, including the NPUG, are eagerly rushing to rally and incite the public and to criticize and embarrass the government, plotting

rallying and incitement, criticism and embarrassment against the government, as if this were the highest goal, and as if the government were not forced to borrow, as you yourself have said it is!

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The party's mass activity is on the issue of the ordinary man, not on the issue of debts.

For example, I rally people for a balance between prices and wages. This is a fundamental issue. Activity on it constitutes a right acknowledged throughout the world.

As for the debt issue, I do not rally people on account of it, but I do exert a great deal of pressure in writing about it, in order to convince public opinion of my views.

Contrary to the assumption from which your question proceeds, I believe the NPUG's struggle to solve the economic crisis is a struggle in its favor.

This is not what some people believe—that a worsening of the economic crisis will lead to socialism. That is not correct.

When the economic crisis worsens, people's morale is shattered. They become less able to struggle. Revolutions or major changes have not arisen in times of constraint.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Point of order, Mr Khalid! I can enumerate for you dozens of examples of revolutions that arose as the final stage after exasperation of varying intensity and duration.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] I mean times of constraint, not times of famine.

The idea that we want conditions to worsen, so that we can change things, is untrue. In the NPUG's statements and publications and in its newspaper, we count on a solution of the economic crisis, because our view is that a solution of the economic crisis will be primarily to the advantage of the downtrodden masses. The wealthy few can solve their problems in any crisis. They smuggle out their wealth. They travel abroad and buy forbidden goods. After violating of the law, they personally escape.

But 90 percent of the people cannot solve their problems.

We think our acceptance of a solution to the economic crisis in the context of the existing capitalist system is a very big political concession on our part. It caused us a crisis within the left, inasmuch as some groups are saying, "What have we to do with invigorating the capitalist system?"

In fact, we are not invigorating the capitalist system. Rather, we want to guide economic performance within the framework of the existing capitalist system.

Transformation toward socialism is not an issue being raised now; what is at issue is independent development—economic independence and the realization of a kind of social balance without which independent development cannot take place.

Development cannot take place without social balance, where development does not exist for the purpose of growth.

The Masses: Tranquilizer Shot Prevents Our Communicating With People

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] On this point, allow me again to state that you are addressing centralized decisionmaking, not mass action.

I mean that on an issue such as prices you talk about the state's responsibility, rather than, for example, organizing consumer associations.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] We think the problem of rising prices in Egypt is not a problem of consumers and merchants.

High prices in Egypt are a matter of inflation, meaning a fall in the value of the Egyptian currency in its own country. High prices therefore encompass everything.

High prices, in the original sense, are a shortage of a commodity and a resultant rise in its price. Increase production, and you solve the problem.

In Egypt, however, high prices (in the sense of inflation) encompass all services and goods. It is therefore primarily a political issue related to economic policies.

We are fighting first of all to convince the Egyptian citizen of this.

This does not prevent us from playing a part in villages and cities through consumers' or housewives' associations. But we have no illusions that such a method can solve the problem.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Do you have previous experience with solutions of this kind?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Of course. In many governorates we have established group associations, but they have not been very successful.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Why?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Because prices will remain high in spite of all these attempts. The problem lies primarily in inflation, then in the inexperience of those who founded these group associations, and finally in their being forced to buy at market price and then sell at less than the price of the butcher, for example.

In any case, the calls for a boycott that were made by housewives in al-Ma'adi have not stopped the rise in meat prices.

We see in the experience of other countries, even socialist ones, that there is a core of prices for a certain number of commodities, and that this core must remain relatively fixed. In Hungary, for example, the price of meat and clothing is rising, but we find that prices of milk, bread, eggs, transportation, and health care are rising very little.

We ask the government in Egypt to establish such a core group of commodities which we have named as basic—oil, beans, lentils, rice, sugar, tea, bread, and a small number of services.

Without this, matters cannot go right in our country. How can we ask people to produce and increase production, when they are unable to live or keep their children alive?

As a result of the fearful price situation, an ordinary man works for the government with half his brain, and with the other half he thinks about supplementary work. How can we ask him to increase production?

This situation also affects party activity.

There are important union and political leaders who leave their principal jobs in order to run to their supplementary jobs in the afternoon. So where does political activity come in?

I want to say that the issue of prices and their rise is an issue bearing on public policy. The government has decided its policy, and we have spoken our opinion. The government's political choice was not to change.

The government has given and continues to give the so-called "new investment" tax breaks amounting, according to the estimates of NPUG experts, to 6 billion Egyptian pounds a year. And then we have an annual deficit of 6 billion pounds!

This is a political choice. The government thinks it best to encourage investment under Law 43 (1974), which grants Arab and foreign capital freedom to invest, and under its 1977 amendment. This is a political choice, and therefore the solution is also a political choice.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] The tactical retreat you have mentioned—guiding the capitalist system, rather than raising objections out of contrariness—was a point that ought to have brought the NPUG closer to the government or the government closer to the NPUG, so as to bring about a national political solution for such intractable economic difficulties as face us.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The government reacted by taking an interest in the NPUG's viewpoint, especially in economics. That is an undeniable fact.

In the field of economic thinking today, there are only the government's proposed 5-year plan, and the NPUG's first and second proposals for the plan.

Sometimes the government does as it is told and changes some things within the framework of government policy, but without any change in the essence of the policies.

We understand and grasp this.

If they changed the essence of their policies, we and they would become one!

So I repeat: the issue is political. It is an issue of social choice. Some day people will discover that there is no way but the one we are proposing. However, the time required by this way is long, and people still have hope in the efficacy of the government's policies of giving grants and building houses. People's hopes will vanish only when they realize that these grants and houses will never solve the economic problem as long as the essence of the policies does not change.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] To what extent is it possible for you to believe that people respond to NPUG claims or even know of them?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The official media are stronger than we!

People are composed of everyday material interests plus thinking.

These interests are in the hands of the government party. It is not a party with mass bases and of whose policy people are convinced. It merely tries to brainwash people by raising hopes.

The Egyptian citizen is inevitably influenced by the flow of information fed into his ears and placed before his eyes (24 hours of radio and 12 hours of television, plus daily national newspapers).

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Mr Khalid, you are talking about quantity, but influence depends on credibility. If the Egyptian citizen believes the official media, he believes them because they are truthful, not because they are many.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The equation here is influenced by extra factors. What helps the citizen be influenced by the government media is the fact that from time to time the government pays out a grant or invites bids for thousands of new apartments. All these things are tranquilizers that help people believe. They do not solve; they postpone. I think that our survival as a party to fight under such circumstances is a great victory.

To go on with the idea of mass response to the NPUG: we must consider how these masses view the effectiveness of the existing parties in bringing about change.

There is a belief among the Egyptian people that change will never occur through the ballot box and that the existing parties will therefore never bring about change.

What I am saying does not mean that the parties have no responsibility. However, we in the NPUG know that it is going to be a long haul and will require patience. We work day and night in the hope that we shall be able, some day, to do something.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] I am 100 percent on your side in this!

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, laughing] I hope you write down this "100 percent" business!

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] I will! There is no veil between myself and the readers.

To go back to what we were discussing: You were talking about party and national information media. You mentioned what you called the "brain washing" that the national newspapers practice upon people. Nevertheless, although the party information media have few resources, they have a tangible influence. This is a fact no one will deny.

What I am asking is why, in the context of the opposition, the NPUG's information apparatus seems weaker than the Wafd's, even though both parties are operating under the same conditions?

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Because the Wafd addresses the class that can buy newspapers.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Which class is that?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] The middle class. The Wafd's newspaper addresses itself mostly to the well-to-do classes. Frankly, it is also better professionally and journalistically.

Our opinion in the NPUG has therefore been that the problem is not just correct opinion, but how you present that correct opinion journalistically, so that you bring about a result.

In general, all the ideological party newspapers have historically been notoriously backward technically, with political thought predominating in them over journalistic presentation.

As I said, better journalistic and production effort goes into AL-WAFD than into AL-AHALI, not to mention the fact that daily publication of AL-WAFD creates a constant readership for it.

At all these levels I think AL-AHALI's position is now positive. I may not like it completely, but in the last analysis it is positive.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Not to belabor the point, but do not a party's information outlets include not only its licensed printed newspaper, but also conferences, meetings, and communiques?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] These elements in our party are positive.

What is strange is that our party meetings receive tremendous interest, confirming the fact that people like to listen to us. They do not vote for us in elections, but that is another matter.

The important thing is that we feel there is no barrier between us and the people. Sometimes we may say things that people feel are hard to verify, but that is another matter.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] I will talk to you about yet a third thing.

Because of my contact with different kinds of people in my village or in educated circles in the city, at times I feel that people sometimes relate to the NPUG's historical political leaders as part of the July revolution, but feel that the other NPUG political cadres are not necessarily popular cadres. People view them as merely a group of intellectuals of varying quality and acceptability.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Not all of them are intellectuals!

We have leaders who are very good in their places, but these leaders are persecuted and followed. If an NPUG leader works as a teacher, he cannot be promoted to principal.

Once a town mayor was successful on our side. They caused him a lot of trouble before they gave him accreditation as mayor. Later, they forced him to enter the NDP. He asked me, and I told him to join and not expose himself to all this suffering.

Basically, a mass leadership forms by historical accumulation under a democratic climate. With complete respect for the view that we are living through a golden age of democracy, I think what is happening is an experiment with negative and positive elements. We have to increase the positive and decrease the negative elements, until we attain the real goal—guidance of the political project, just as we aim to guide the economic project.

It is not correct to say that we are living through a golden age of democracy. For example, I have letters written by 15 members, asking that a grant be paid. They were arrested, but the court later released them. In other words, there is a theory whose significance is being applied.

"Hit the animal that is tied up, so that the loose one will be afraid." How can mass leadership be built up in such an atmosphere?

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Still, in such matters the emergency law is used in particular cases that threaten stability. Its broader and more important use has been in confronting terrorism and investment companies as phenomena that threaten stability.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Use is use, whether in regard to particular cases or in regard to general phenomena.

Naturally, there are leaders over whom the local security forces in the countryside have no power—for example, an education inspector. But when a leader comes from the workers, he becomes subject to persecution.

Class distinctions are involved in this matter, too.

Touching on my previous answer, all party secretaries in the governorates are popular figures. The problem is that in building popular bases (by services plus common struggles), you will be faced by the fact that it is forbidden to gather people to sign a petition. It is forbidden to arrange a march or take refuge. All of this, from my point of view, is a democratic struggle, but the government considers it a violent struggle.

The use of weapons and bricks is violence; peaceful refusal to work or a peaceful demonstration are not. All countries of the world acknowledge this. When I was in France, I found the postal workers on strike, and the nurses, too, for 3 weeks. Nevertheless, life went on and the sky didn't fall.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] I always make a reservation about such comparisons. Aren't we in a different development stage from those societies?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] People in countries that want to develop do not work in absolutes; they work in light of what they believe to be a minimum.

No one approves of striking for its own sake. There are relative standards for the reasons for which people strike.

A European employee or worker receives a very large salary by Egyptian standards. However, in relation to prices and expectations there, he finds this salary lower than it should be.

If the standard of prices and expectations were applied in Egypt, strikes would become a widespread form of behavior; but we are talking only about striking because of a grant, or a meal, or any other basic matters—basic, that is, by the standard of the development stage we are passing through.

You know full well that prices in Egypt have become comparable to prices in Europe, but that there is a great disparity in wages. We are therefore facing a disaster, because we are asking people to produce under conditions where production is impossible, and then we forbid them to protest using any peaceful means!

Let us consider the basis for the success of the Japanese experiment—a capitalist experiment. An organization there—Mitsubishi, for example—is responsible for each of its workers. If a worker's wife is ill, he leaves a message as he enters the plant, and company doctors go to treat his wife. On the other hand, when Mitsubishi wants to reduce the number of its workers, it does not do so; rather, it reduces the salaries of the existing workers. Everyone accepts this under an unwritten contract governing relations in this variety of industrial feudalism.

[AL-AHARAM AL-IQTISADI] The whole world now knows about "lady Marxists with religious faith."

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Nevertheless, there are some people who disapprove of my being called "Hajj Khalid." They say I am an infidel. What should I do?

Going back to what we were talking about: What I am saying does not mean that the NPUG has made no mistakes—it is full of mistakes! But no one has done what we have done—discuss our mistakes and affairs in public.

We must realize that we face two kinds of obstacles: internal obstacles, which we bring up for discussion with complete freedom, and external obstacles, such as interference in the election process or in the vote count.

The Obstacles: "Unlike many people, I think the religious current of opinion is not strong."

[AL-AHARAM AL-IQTISADI] Let us now detail the internal and external obstacles. As for the external ones, I think that at the society level—leaving aside the political level—there are social forces that now stand in opposition to the NPUG program. Aren't they different from the traditional forces that the Egyptian left has confronted for a long time?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Even if the NPUG did not make a sufficient effort to explain its position to the people, these forces would never win. I would sum them up as "the new capitalism" and "the extremist religious tendency."

1. As for capitalism, the old capitalism (agricultural or industrial) understood us more, because it was a rational and understanding capitalism. The new open door capitalism is what opposes us, because it realizes that our existence hinders its growth and plunder.

The NPUG can have dealings with the old capitalism, because it represents "a system." Predatory capitalism is another matter. I do not intend to persuade it; but I am trying to persuade the people who are affected by it, without being remiss in mobilizing the forces that stand originally with me.

2. As for the religious tendency, unlike many people, I do not think it is strong. The strength some people imagine it to have comes from the fact that we are unable to remove from the masses who hear us the effect of the charge leveled against us—infidelity, atheism, and hostility to religion.

I think that the entire left, not just the NPUG, has not yet succeeded in confronting this matter, except by primitive means.

Such a confrontation requires application and a long-range plan to convince people—seriously—that the NPUG and the left are not hostile to religion. This is something the left has long forgotten to put on its agenda.

So when the religious tendency came and took its stand on this ground, it had the field to itself.

When this current of opinion succeeds in dragging us into a fight about the shari'ah and Islamic jurisprudence, it wins against us. But when we drag it into a fight about the social and political problems of the Egyptian people, we win.

I have not yet stopped fighting to remove from people's minds the unjustly insinuated image of the left as atheistic. (This is an internal obstacle.)

[AL-AHARAM AL-IQTISADI] On the other hand, I would not attribute the religious tendency's strength only to internal factors in it. There is also its ability to look for common ground between it and the authorities in opposing the left. The left has not succeeded in looking for common ground between it and the authorities in opposing the current of religious extremism.

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Absolutely incorrect—and here are my proofs:

1. When the violent extremism of al-Sadat's assassination occurred, the first thing I thought of was that my position would be on the side of the government. The disagreement was that the government placed extremism as a primary issue, while in our view extremism was not the primary issue. The economic crisis was the primary issue: it led to extremism. My demand to the government was that it solve the economic crisis in order to deal with extremism.

2. In the crisis of sectarian strife, the NPUG was the first party to call on the government to form a national council of national unity. Even in the days of al-Sadat

and at the height of our fight with the government, we believed that a rupture in national unity would have the effect of moving Egypt back hundreds of years.

3. On the investment companies issue, all the opposition parties with which we were allied against the emergency law took a position on the side of the companies. The government and the NPUG—alone—were on the same side. This happened unannounced, merely because we found common ground on which to speak with the government.

On the other hand, the government does not coordinate with the religious tendency. However, this tendency sometimes exploits the existence of common ground between it and the government on a certain issue against us.

Furthermore, the government has a class-related political idea that the religious tendency, no matter how it differs with the government, is part of the same "system," and that there can be dealings with it.

As for us, we are people who want "change." True, we would maintain the constitutional political system, but there would be change in it. We do not deny it. So the government is not very comfortable having dealings with us, except within narrow limits.

Thus, a crisis has come over relations between us and the government; but it is the government's crisis. The proof is that we are constantly making proposals for democratic cooperation or for national cooperation to confront the crisis.

[AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI] Isn't there any kind of government response to these proposals of yours?

[Khalid Muhyi-al-Din] Of course, one can't utterly deny it, but it is feeble.

This is because the NPUG possesses a clear alternative. The Islamic groups, on the other hand, themselves say, "There is no disagreement between us and the government, except the application of Islamic law." Thus, if the government were to apply Islamic law, the members of these groups would join the NDP.

We, however, do not believe that application of Islamic law is the issue, since the shari'ah is not a subject of disagreement. Our position, like the government's, is that the shari'ah should be applied through civil laws before which Muslims and Christians are equal. This, therefore, is not the crisis. Rather, we think that Egypt's problem is economic, social, and democratic, and that its terms are interrelated. I think that the failure of democracy to thrive is to a certain extent due to bad economic conditions. Bad economic conditions will not be remedied unless people share the burdens. For people to bear the burdens, they must share in planning. This is what we told the Algerians. Had people shared in decisionmaking, what happened would never have been able to happen.

To review the outward obstacles that confront the party of the left: We still face a "ruling party" system, not a "majority party" system. The NDP has enormous resources: the provincial governor is on its side; the city chief is on its side—all these things are resources. People come to the party under the influence of resources (information, plus money, plus services); and I have nothing of the sort!

Still, people come to my party despite all this. I consider this an enormous victory for the NPUG. It shows that the Egyptian people have enormous hidden forces, and that part of them are ranged with the opposition, despite the tremendous resources that the ruling party possesses.

Judge Exposes Interpretive Difference Between Islamic, Egyptian Laws

45040159 Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic
25 Dec 88 pp 24-25

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Ramadan: "Between Islamic Shari'ah and Egyptian Law"]

[Excerpts] I think that ignorance of religion by the generality of people constitutes the primary problem of Islam in this country. By "the generality of people," I mean those who have not become learned in religion and who have not studied the fundamentals and rules of religion in matters of worship and conduct from reliable books. Such people represent the overwhelming majority of the people. They represent a very fertile soil for political thinkers who use religion as a support for their propaganda and plant in this soil whatever distorted religious ideas they wish and that will serve their purposes.

The problem also involves the tremendous mass of misconceptions that have surrounded the [Islamic] religion through its history and development. Some people consider these ideas an inseparable part of religion, despite the fact that they are as far removed from it as heaven from earth. This mass of misconceptions is the result of an accumulation that increased continually with time, as explanations, controversies, and individual interpretations increased.

It is recognized that religion is part of the superstructure of society—i.e., the cultural structure that faithfully reflects production relations, particularly property relations. If property relations are feudal, this finds its reflection in religion, just as it finds its reflection in all of intellectual and cultural life. The situation changes if this relation changes to a capitalistic one, and so forth.

Many people misunderstand this idea and think badly of anyone who asserts it. I remember that once, when I said this during a public lecture I gave at the University of Aligarh in India, someone asked, "How does religion change with changes of production relations?" I replied that the religion revealed from heaven is invariable, but that the explanations are what changes. I meant that the

feudalistic mentality can only interpret religion in a feudalistic way that serves the interests of feudalism, and that the capitalistic mentality interprets religion capitalistically, and so forth.

The important point is that different ages since the dawn of Islam have generated a large mass of explanations, individual interpretations, and sectarian controversies. Sectarians who exploit religion in their political propaganda to gain power have thus been given an opportunity to attract large masses of ignorant and uneducated people to religion in order to support their propaganda. The result has been what we now see: religious movements that attract young people, inevitably of limited experience, and try to impose their ideas on society under glowing slogans like, "Application of Islamic law."

"Application of Islamic law"—and sometimes they push it as far as murder in the name of religion!

We have often called attention to the fact that this slogan not to the point, because the civil law is in agreement with Islamic shari'ah. The difference in the criminal law relates to the hadd punishments [legal punishments under Islamic law], which number no more than six: the punishment for theft, false accusation of unchastity, unchastity, plundering (highway robbery), wine drinking, and apostasy. In the matter of these punishments, the ruler has the right to apply a [lesser] discretionary punishment. In this opinion, we relied on the counselor al-Hudaybi, the former general spiritual guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, not on Marx or Lenin! Nevertheless, accusations of Marxism, communism, and apostasy rained down upon us from those who exploit religion for their political purposes and from their deceived and erring followers.

Hence one sees the importance of this book ("Islamic Shari'ah and Egyptian Law") by Counselor Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi, head of the High Court for State Security and head of the Criminal Court. We have already introduced the reader to some of Counselor al-Ashmawi's learned works that combat the ideas of the Hakimiyah and Takfir movements. The most recent of these works was his important book, "Political Islam." [passage omitted]

The fundamental sources of Islamic shari'ah are the Koran, the Sunnah, consensus (ijma'), and jurisprudence (fiqh). Beside these, there exist a number of sources about which opinions differ from one legal school to another—public interest, custom, appropriateness, etc. Shari'ah rules can be divided into two categories: rules whose immutability and meaning are certain, with no room for individual interpretation; and rules about which individual interpretation is possible. In reality, the basic sources of the Islamic shari'ah are the Koran, the Sunnah, consensus, and analogy (qiyyas). Consensus, analogy, and other matters are jurisprudence; they are sources for jurisprudence, not sources for shari'ah. At the

same time, the definitive rules are the rules of the shari'ah pertaining to worship; rules based on individual interpretation are opinions of jurisprudence.

It thus becomes evident that the call for legislating Islamic shari'ah into law could lead to a whirlpool of accusations of infidelity and charges of atheism, drawing society into a bottomless pit. This is because the concept of shari'ah being used is that of the jurisprudence laid down by legal scholars who sought inspiration from the spirit of religion. How can not legislating Islamic jurisprudence into law be considered infidelity? How can the government that does not do this be branded as infidel? If not legislating Islamic jurisprudence into law is considered infidelity (the so-called "sin against the shari'ah"), legislating it into law could also be considered infidelity—for the following reason: The legislator must needs hold to one among a number of opinions, or to one among a number of individual interpretations. Thus, anyone who holds to the opposite view or to a different interpretation could brand the legislator with infidelity. [passage omitted]

The legal framework that was employed in Egypt and that was borrowed from France and from Roman law was merely a form and mold for legal rules that already existed in Egypt and in Islamic jurisprudence. Either these laws were not foreign to Egyptian society, or their existence became necessary because of social development, cultural progress, and changing forms of transactions. There is nothing in them incompatible with Islamic shari'ah or contrary to the spirit of the society; otherwise, the society would have rejected them, and they would never have remained firmly imbedded in its substance.

Counselor Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi then proves his view by reviewing the civil law—the laws of personal status, inheritance, and bequests. He states that all these laws are taken directly from legislation on these questions in the Holy Koran, the Prophetic Sunnah, and various schools of Islamic jurisprudence. He says that in matters of personal status and inheritance, the shari'ah was careful to stress the most important of its general principles—namely, that sound application of the rules depends on the existence of a healthy society and must rely on the living hearts and sincere consciences of men. [passage omitted]

Rules are applied when circumstances requiring their application exist; they are abolished when circumstances make it necessary. Umar ibn al-Khattab abolished temporary marriage (mut'ah) after the consolidation of the Islamic state, and all the Sunni schools of law adhered to this abolition. The law of slavery was abolished when the circumstances of the age made this abolition necessary. Another implication is that the rules of shari'ah or the jurisprudence that codifies these rules ought not to be legislated into law as long as these continue to lag behind circumstances. It also means that the establishment of rules for a particular system, such as temporary marriage

and slavery, does not mean that this system is an essential part of Islam and that it is infidelity if one abolishes the system or does not legislate it into law.

Next, Counselor Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi deals with the questions of usury, the system of interest on debts, insurance contracts. He explains the basis for the Koranic prohibition of usury, as follows: The Arabs used to put off payment in money and deal in contracts and edibles. When it came time for the debt to be paid, the creditor would ask the debtor, "Do you settle, or do you increase?"—i.e., will you settle the debt, or increase it for another term. The creditor would think it an easy matter to postpone payment, until the time would finally come when he could not pay the debt and the creditor would not accept postponement. The debtor would therefore go bankrupt because of a debt that originally was small, but multiplied through postponement. Often this led to his being sold into slavery. Islam wanted to prevent this unnatural situation in the society of believers, but it did not define what was intended by "prohibited interest." Neither did Islam define what was meant by "permissible sale" in the Koranic verse [2:275], "God has permitted selling, and forbidden usury." Many kinds of sale that cause harm to one of the two parties were forbidden by Islamic jurisprudence—for example, "sale on credit" (*bay' al-'inah*), which is sale of some object at a determined price to be paid at an unspecified date, followed by [the seller's] [re]purchase of the sold object at a price less than that for which it was sold. Also prohibited was *bay' al-muzabahah*—the sale of something of undetermined quantity, whose measure, weight, and number are unknown, in exchange for something whose measure, weight, and number are known. [Al-Ashmawi] goes on to explain some of the differences between pre-Islamic usury (*riba*) and the system of interest at the present time. For example, under usury, the creditor had to pay, even if it meant selling himself into slavery; under a system of interest, settlement is in money alone. Indeed, given the complication and length of current judicial proceedings, the creditor may turn out to be the victim in the creditor-debtor relationship—giving rise to the saying, "The debtor is stronger than the creditor!" As for insurance contracts, which some have declared to be forbidden on the ground that they are a kind of gambling that causes harm to one of the parties, this reasoning does not stand up to analysis. There are no things prohibited per se in Islam; rather, rules are bound up with reasons, and the rule turns on the presence or absence of the reason. The Koran contains no verse about contracts of insurance, nor does the Prophet's Sunnah.

Next, Counselor Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi deals with the issue of hadd punishments in Islam. He shows that the Islamic regimen of punishments is based on three systems: hadd punishments, discretionary punishments (*ta'zir*), and retaliation (*qisas*). Islamic jurists hold that there are six crimes for which hadd punishments are appointed: theft, false accusation of unchastity, unchastity, plundering (highway robbery), wine drinking, and apostasy. All of these hadd punishments are conditional and depend on the existence of a society with certain characteristics. Each punishment has special conditions and cannot be applied unless these conditions are fulfilled.

The reason for discretionary punishments is that the aforementioned hadd punishments do not deal with many crimes that are extremely dangerous for society—for example, bribery, espionage, embezzlement and appropriation of public funds, falsification of official or private documents, rape, homosexuality, arson, causing fires through negligence, intentional damage, narcotics crimes, building crimes, crimes against legally set prices, traffic violations, etc. Islamic law holds that the ruler (the legislator, in modern times) has the right to criminalize any act in which he sees danger to the community or damage to its security, and he may set whatever punishments he wishes. This system is called "discretionary punishment" (*ta'zir*), i.e., disciplinary punishment for which no specific text occurs [in the Koran]. The correct view is that the system of disciplinary punishment is the fundamental criminal system in Islam because of the difficulty of applying the hadd punishments with their conditions, and also because the hadd punishments do not confront all the crimes and actions that harm society.

As for retaliation (pursuit of the intentional criminal until one avenges oneself on him), with the possibility of forgiveness or accepting monetary compensation, it is connected with the crimes of murder and disfigurement, which are not hadd crimes. There was justification for it in the early age of Islam, but it has now come to pose a great danger to people from those who possess great wealth from illicit or nearly illicit activities. With their wealth, they act unjustly against people; they murder, beat, or disfigure; then they force the victim or his family to accept monetary compensation. The Egyptian criminal law has therefore dealt with the matter in a way that is consistent with the spirit of Islam and at the same time maintains society's right. Under this system, the victim of the crime or his relatives may agree on civil damages, but this has absolutely no affect upon the criminal action. The latter, which remains the right of society, is pursued by the public prosecutor as society's agent, and cannot be waived.

The important thing about this small, but very valuable book is that it corrects by knowledge what some people pervert by ignorance. Using the light of truth, it fights the darkness of misconceptions and slogans that are pronounced without knowledge, study, or certitude. It is what the Holy Koran refers to when it says (10:36), "Conjecture can by no means take the place of truth."

Muslim Leader, Others on Parties

JN1102154689 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I
in Arabic 9 Feb 89 p 10

[Text] Cairo—in the latest session of the Egyptian People's Assembly, Counselor Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, one of the prominent figures of the Muslim Brotherhood group, gave an indication of the possibility that a party for the Muslim Brotherhood will be declared within 2 months.

Since this indication came amid voices that talk about a possibility of amending the parties legislation in Egypt to

pave the way for any new party that wants to declare itself, AL-ITTIHAD began to examine the picture through meetings with Ma'mun al-Hudaybi; Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Labor Party, which includes an alliance from the Labor Party, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Liberal Party; Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the Liberal Party; and Dr Ahmad Salamah, minister for Egyptian People's Assembly and Consultative Council Affairs. So, what did they say?

At the beginning, and in reply to a question on whether the Muslim Brotherhood wants to confront the government by declaring a religious party, Ma'mun al-Hudaybi said: "We want things to develop quietly without having any kind of challenges. It is not in Egypt's interest if the atmosphere of challenge prevails."

He added: "However, from the legal viewpoint, I hope the authorities in Egypt will begin to study the subject of amending the parties legislation and to treat the subject calmly. I call on them to open the door for parties. There is nothing in the Constitution or law that prevents the establishment of a religious party."

Answering a question on whether he fears any offenses by the religious party which would therefore be connected with Islam, which is innocent of them, Ma'mun al-Hudaybi said: "We must differentiate between the international character of the call for Islam and the local character of organization. The first cannot be violated, and the religion of God is for all. If there were any offenses, those who ran the party are to be blamed, not Islam. Islam cannot be judged by the acts of the slaves of God. However, Islam can judge the acts of the slaves of God and is the measure for people's acts."

Regarding the possibility of the Muslim Brotherhood entering into a bargain with the government to pass its party, Al-Hudaybi said: "The question of bargains is rejected. However, we have never rejected, and will never reject, dialogue with anyone on legitimate bases. Estrangement and isolation are not among our principles; rationality is our method and course."

He said: "We want a legal entity in which we can work and from which we can begin our activity in a safe and clear manner under the surveillance and watch of the different organs so that we can call people freely and call for freedom to be granted to all—us and others."

Regarding the formation of a party for the Muslim Brotherhood and what will follow from the Copts demanding a similar entity, he said: "Copts already have an entity in which they enjoy the freedom of elections with which they are satisfied. This we do not yet have."

Answering a question on whether its split from the Labor Party will create tension between the two sides, he said: "We are proud of the Labor Party. As for our cooperation, it is based on understanding, and we can coordinate

things between us. Here, I would like to affirm the depth of relations with the Labor Party and with Ibrahim Shukri, the man with clean hands who is honest and virtuous."

Finally, Al-Hudaybi said: "If the government accelerates the amendment of the parties legislation, we will actually seek to form a party for the Muslim Brotherhood. This will help us adjust matters according to developments."

Answering a question on his opinion in case the Muslim Brotherhood declared its split from the Labor Party and formed a separate party, Labor Party leader Ibrahim Shukri said: "Generally, we support the principle of forming parties. We cannot examine this issue from a narrow viewpoint because it affects our current situation in our alliance with the Islamic trend, represented by the Muslim Brotherhood and the Liberal Party under the leadership of Mustafa Kamil Murad."

He added: "We call for freedom to form parties because this will rectify stands and set clear limits for existing currents." He said: "Hope lies in the freedom of forming parties. When there is a multiparty system, there can be common goals among a number of groupings."

Shukri said: "I do not want to use the term "religious party," because it is clear from the Muslim Brotherhood's history that it was not a fanatical religious group—which is something we fear and reject—but was a movement that calls for abiding by the basic principles of Islam. It would be incorrect to call it a religious party that will push Islamic-Christian relations to a confrontation. On the contrary, when it is formed, it will confront groups that do not understand religion according to its correct bases."

Commenting on whether the establishment of a party for the Muslim Brotherhood would reduce the size of the Liberal Party, Mustafa Kamil Murad said: "On the contrary, because the formation of parties will prevent underground action and tension. It will also be a democratic method to represent different ideological trends."

He said: "The size of the party is unimportant. What is important is the nature of democratic life. It is important that the party program should agree with the Constitution. The first of these principles is that the Egyptian citizen must be viewed as a citizen who has all rights of citizenship without regard to his religion, color or race."

Commenting on the possibility of amending the parties legislation and the establishment of a party for the Muslim Brotherhood, Dr Ahmad Salamah, minister for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, said: "In principle, any group that wants to form a party is governed by the parties legislation and the government has nothing to do with this. The government does not, or lacks the right to, direct the parties committee to agree or reject a certain party. Also, the parties committee

decides on the subject of forming parties in the consciousness of a judge. When an application to form a new party is submitted, we hope that it meets all conditions so that it can recognize it. However, the Muslim Brotherhood has not fulfilled these conditions. It is forbidden to establish a political party on religious, sectarian, or ideological bases because the most important thing that distinguishes Egypt is its national unity."

Dr Salamah continued: "Also, the issue cannot be settled through theoretical argument, but by subjective argument regarding the interest of the state. From my viewpoint, public interest will be greatly affected and shaken if we allow religious parties. This would mean a return to dividing society according to religious sects. This would, God forbid, lead to what happened in Lebanon, and we all reject what happened in Lebanon.

Muslim Brotherhood Official Discusses Challenges to Islam
45040173 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic
10 Jan 89 pp 34-35

[Interview with his eminence Mustafa Mashhur, an engineer and the Muslim Brotherhood's deputy supreme guide: "Christians Wage War To Undermine Muslims' Beliefs," date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] In this issue we interview the great Muslim evangelist, his eminence Mustafa Mashhur, an engineer and the Muslim Brotherhood's Deputy Supreme Guide. Because of the lengthy and respectable experiences he has had, AL-MUJTAMA' asked Mr Mashhur some of the questions that are on the minds of young Muslims who are involved in spreading the message of Islam. His eminence graciously answered those questions as follows:

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What do you think about the term Islamic awakening which is being used to indicate that Muslim nations are being asked to return to religious practices, and why do you think the way you do?

[Mashhur] There is no doubt that this Islamic awakening indicates that Islamic nations are returning to the practice of Islam. In other words, they are once again adhering to their religion and abiding by its precepts. This is evident to anyone who knows what Islamic societies were like a few scores of years ago. Today, anyone can see many manifestations of these societies' return to many Islamic practices. They can also see a clear movement away from many of those practices which violate Islamic precepts.

Although it is true that this has not been a prevalent change among the majority in these societies, it has stood out among many young Muslims who are characterized by their vitality and their zeal for their religion. Although their numbers are small, these young Muslims have been quite effective because of this vitality and zeal.

For some time now Islamic societies have been either dozing off or sleeping. In addition, the enemies of Islam have subjected them to military occupation, which was accompanied by an invasion of immoral ideas and behavior. Consequently, Islamic societies have been weak and languid. They have been divided and plagued by conflict, heresies, and superstition. Islamic societies have also been inert and spiritless, and many people have lost the spirit of fighting for the cause of God.

Thanks be to God, however, conditions have changed and piety has become widespread among young men and young women. That is the effect which the Muslim Brotherhood and similar movements have had. Muslim women have dressed themselves according to Islamic custom; many impurities which had become attached to Islamic doctrine have been removed; and the spirit of fighting for the cause of God, making sacrifices, redeeming others, and taking action to support Muslims in their predicaments everywhere has been revived. Today, Islamic nations are demanding that their rulers apply the canonical laws of Islam. They want man-made laws and principles to be set aside. Doesn't all this show that we have an Islamic awakening? The Islamic nation is regaining its vigor after its inertia had bored the people and made them despair.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Many western attempts are being made to obliterate the sense of Islamic awareness among the nation's young people. What are the most important characteristics of these attempts, and how can their dangers be avoided?

[Mashhur] The materialistic West and the atheistic East have been plotting the downfall of Islam. The West attempted to do this in the past when it launched the Crusades against Islam. Recently, however, the West's war against Islam has undergone a change. Now, the purpose of this war is to induce Muslims to disavow the pillars of their faith by various means, which include a cultural and intellectual invasion; corruption; preaching the gospel; Rotary, Lions' and Masonic Clubs; friendship societies; and other societies or institutions whose names or designations are deceptive but whose intent is to corrupt people and drive them away from the essence of Islam.

The West also distorts Islamic history in books or movies. Westerners take advantage of questions about which many Muslims are ignorant, such as that of women. They choose such questions to portray Islam as a religion that keeps women in chains from which they must be liberated.

Westerners also attempt to lure young people to travel to western countries as tourists or as students. There, young people are exposed to corruption and brainwashing.

Westerners are trying to bring us their experience with attempts which were made in their countries to separate religion from politics. They portray an Islamic government as a religious government which rules by divine right, the same way that religious governments did in the West.

But the most important methods of avoiding such dangers include pledging ourselves to give young Muslims knowledge and a proper understanding of Islam as a complete way of life. Young people must be given a bright picture of Islamic civilization. Attention must also be given to putting emphasis on the question of faith and education, both of which protect young people from such dangers. We must always demand that images of corruption and dissolution be purged from the media in our country. We must have strict censorship of movies and videos, and we must produce useful, Islamic alternatives to these movies. We must also insist upon applying the canonical laws of Islam, and we must prohibit alcohol consumption, gambling, prostitution, and other forms of corruption. Religious education must be offered in all stages of education, and young people are to be taught the principles of religion and Islamic morals in their homes.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Is there a standard, systematic plan for spreading the message of Islam in the world? If no such plan exists, what are the obstacles to having one?

[Mashhur] Some countries have official Islamic institutions which play a part in spreading the message of Islam locally in those countries as well as abroad in some parts of the world. I do not think these Islamic institutions are united, but they should at the very least coordinate their activities.

On the people's level, Islamic groups in many parts of the world play a positive role in this regard. They promote the message of Islam, and they do so by using a standard approach which is based on a proper understanding of an Islam which is derived from the Koran, from the tradition of the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, and from the traditions of virtuous ancestors. The Jamaat-i-Islami in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh performs the same function on the Indian Peninsula.

Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, and other Islamic countries also have Islamic movements or political parties. However, efforts made by groups and political parties in these countries are limited.

Intense efforts should be made to standardize the approach used by these groups to spread the message of Islam. Some ruling regimes, however, hamper such efforts, restricting activities by these groups as well as travel by their members from one country to another. They also interfere with statements which are made at conferences, where Muslims should be speaking with one voice. Because there is much to be done, because areas of activity are numerous and demanding, and because the enemies of Islam have joined forces to bring about the downfall of Islam, the governments of some Islamic countries have been induced to sanction all legal and illegal means that are available to spread the message of Islam. The idea of standardizing the approach used to spread that message has also been hampered by differences among the governments of some of our Islamic countries and by wars between them.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Is the large number of Islamic movements in the world a healthy phenomenon or not, and why?

[Mashhur] The large number of Islamic movements in the world is a healthy phenomenon. It proves that Muslims are vigilant, and it shows they will take action and work for their religion. This phenomenon is healthy and proper if these movements work together and if they coordinate their activities with each other. A multitude of Islamic movements is a healthy phenomenon if these movements follow the proper approach in their understanding of Islam and Islamic ideology and if their activities demonstrate that proper understanding of Islam.

Having a large number of Islamic movements becomes an unhealthy phenomenon if these movements go separate ways; if they disagree with each other; and if they go along with our enemies' attempts to stir civil strife among Muslims. It also becomes an unhealthy phenomenon if the contradictory approaches these movements follow to reach an understanding of Islam, to define their objectives, or to set their own course create a rift among these movements and lead to differences and discord in their midst.

Having a great number of Islamic movements becomes an unhealthy phenomenon if the leaders of some of these groups are controlled by their passions and their love of leadership and control, or if they take abnormal actions which hurt Islamic activity, such as regarding other people's property fair game.

It is also an unhealthy phenomenon if those leaders dare to pass judgment on other Muslims and to consider them nonbelievers, immoral, or anything else. Leaders of these groups should make every effort to bring their groups closer together. They should unify their goals and streamline their efforts because it is Islam and Muslims who are under attack by our enemies who, despite their differences, are helping each other, because their cause is to hurt Islam and Muslims.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Mutual interests rather than principles constitute the basis for political dialogue and understanding between Muslims and others. Why do Islamic movements scorn the notion of going along with that political game, which is planned and executed by the superpowers? Why don't they try to achieve their main interests by playing the political game instead of fighting a war with these superpowers?

[Mashhur] Islamic movements think their principal interest is to realize the principles of Islam. They do not see those interests in material terms, which are the terms used by those countries which some people call the superpowers, in order to measure them. Pagans tried to persuade the messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, to give up some of the principles of

Islam that he had introduced in return for coexistence and the pagans' assurance that no war would be launched against him and the believers. But how could the prophet give up some of the principles of Islam when God Almighty says, "Therefore hold fast to that which is revealed to you" [Koran: Surat al-Zukhruf: 43]? God Almighty also tells His messenger, "Pronounce judgment among them in accordance with Allah's revelations and do not be led by their desires. Take heed lest they should turn you away from a part of that which Allah has revealed to you" [Koran: Surat al-Ma'idah: 49].

The Islamic movement does not wish to have a confrontation with the enemy, but if it does, it shall remain as steadfast as the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, directed us to be. The Islamic movement believes that justice and those who uphold it will ultimately be victorious. It believes that falsehood will be defeated, no matter how attractive it might make itself appear. It believes that defeating falsehood may require a significant amount of time and effort.

If benefits for the movement could be realized without undermining the principles of Islam, the movement would not hesitate to take advantage of such an opportunity.

I believe that at the present time the premise of worldly or material interests is not the only one used by the superpowers to define their positions toward Islamic movements, as it is when they define their positions toward other countries. Instead, we have a clear sense that the superpowers are fighting the principles which are espoused by Islamic movements. They do not want Islam to prevail. This became unequivocally clear when they stepped up this war after the modern Islamic awakening emerged on the scene.

The prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, executed the al-Hudaybiyah peace agreement despite its obvious injustice to Muslims, but he did not give away one iota of Islam or one iota of his beliefs. In this regard, the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, sets a good example for us.

No one should think that the Islamic movement's wariness of the political game which is being planned and executed by the superpowers, with its inherent dangers and deception, demonstrates the movement's narrow-mindedness, inflexibility, lack of political imagination or awareness, or anything else that others attribute to Islamic movements.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] May God reward you well. We pray God Almighty that He help you achieve your noble goals according to His wishes and to His satisfaction. May the peace of God and His mercy and blessings be with you.

Lawyers' Group Releases Statement on Uprising, American Policies

45040157b Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Dec 88 p 4

[Article: "At a Conference in the Lawyers' Union on the Anniversary of the Uprising: The Leaders of the Alliance Enumerate the Gains of the Palestinians' Revolution"]

[Text] In an immense mobilization of the masses the Lawyers' Union had not seen before, in the midst of intensified security measures, as central security vehicles surrounded the union building and concentrated themselves at the major intersections leading to the Lawyers' Union, the union's committee on Islamic law held its fifth conference on the occasion of the passage of 1 year since the Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied territories.

Attending the conference were the great fighting man Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party and leader of the opposition in the People's Assembly; the great Islamic proselytizer, Mustafa Mashhur; Ahmad al-Khawajah, the head of the Lawyers' Union; Mustafa Kamil Murad, the chairman of the Liberal Party; Counsellor al-Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, member of the People's Assembly; Ahmad 'Awdah, Hamid al-Azhari, Muhammad Rizq, and Muhammad 'Ilwan, members of the Council of the Lawyers' Union; and a number of members of the People's Assembly. Supervising the organization and presentation of the conference was Mukhtar Nuh, member of the Council of the Lawyers' Union, rapporteur of the committee of Islamic law, and member of the People's Assembly.

The people who spoke stressed the gains the blessed Palestinian uprising had realized, among which were:

First, the spirit of holy war which the uprising had created in the Palestinian people, which eliminated the barrier of fear of the Zionist enemy, eliminated despair and hopelessness in people's spirits, and made people's hearts turn to genuine Islamic holy war for liberating the territories in full.

Second, the enhanced interconnection and solidarity between the Palestinian masses and their Islamic vanguard after it had been reaffirmed that the liberation of the country would come about only through Islam.

Third, a firm stand in the face of the Jews' arrogance toward the Palestinians, cutting their fangs and making them pay a high price for occupation.

The conference requested of the Arab and Islamic masses the need to offer material and moral support to the uprising.

In his statement which he made before the conference, Engineer Ibrahim Shukri asserted that the American

secretary of state's decision to prevent 'Arafat from coming to United Nations headquarters in New York had not been met with the desired reaction on the part of the Arab countries as far as American arrogance went. Shukri said that no matter what America had done to support Israel, these acts it pursued against the Palestinian people's uprising would not stand up. The leader of the Labor Party said that the uprising had overturned all the balances, and that all the rulers of the Arabs and Moslems had to conduct a review of themselves. Shukri said that people who were depending on the American solution, and having America conduct a review of itself, were losing and sought only further subordination and circulation in the American orbit.

Al-Ma'mun al-Hudaybi condemned the statement and arrogance of the member of the American Senate in talking for the Palestinians. Al-Hudaybi said that the Americans wanted only Israel and the Jews; as for the Arabs, they were not in their thoughts. Al-Hudaybi asserted that the continued uprising and an increase in its activity would be the solution to the issue.

Mustafa Kamil Murad called for the need to hold an emergency Islamic summit to support the uprising of the people of Palestine. Ahmad al-Khawajah asserted that the revolution of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories had put the Arab rulers in a dilemma. He called on everyone to declare their opinion frankly—were they on the side of the uprising and support for it, or not? Al-Khawajah said that the uprising had brought down all the so-called treaties and conferences.

The Islamic proselytizer, Mustafa Mashhur, asserted that the cause of Palestine was the cause of all Moslems and not the cause of the Arabs or Palestinians alone. He said that the liberation of Palestine would come about only through holy war, because our war with the Zionists was an ideological war and not a national or Arab one. The Islamic proselytizer, Mustafa Mashhur, reviewed the Islamic movement's holy war in Palestine and its support of the 1936 al-Qassam revolution. In 1948, the Brothers' volunteers were the first to go to Palestine, and had it not been for the conspiracy against the holy warriors and the Brothers' volunteers, the situation would have been totally different. Mustafa Mashhur said that the price the Brothers' movement paid for the guerrilla activity in Palestine was the dissolution of the society, the assassination of its guide, and the arrest of those who had pursued holy war in Palestine. Mustafa Mashhur asserted that all the rulers had to conduct a review of themselves vis-a-vis the Palestine cause, measure up to the responsibility, and open the borders to the Moslem fighting men to reach the occupied territories.

The committee on Islamic law distributed a poster titled "We Are Here, Palestine! A Year of the Blessed Uprising."

Prosecutor Reveals New Information on al-Rayyan
45040164B Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 26 Dec 88 p 7

[Article by Muhammad Salah al-Zahhar]

[Text] Consultation chamber proceedings at the South Cairo court ordered Ahmad Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Rayyan's imprisonment to be renewed for 45 days pending investigation. The decision came after a session lasting 1 and 1/2 hours, during which the prosecutor repeatedly asked for imprisonment because the investigation had not been finished. The prosecutor replied to al-Rayyan's allegations that the sum of 150 million pounds was in the possession of government newspaper organizations. The prosecutor said that al-Rayyan had contracted with the newspaper organizations to print books of the classical Arabic heritage. The contracts had a value of 100 million pounds. Contracts with a value of 40 million pounds had been carried out; after al-Rayyan had been turned over to the prosecutor, the newspaper organizations had returned 60 million pounds. This sum was now under custody in the prosecutor's office.

Ahmad al-Rayyan defended himself, and two lawyers also pleaded on his behalf. They demanded that he be set free, so that he might return depositors' funds. A decision was issued by Counselor Jamal Abu-Taha, head of the court, with counselors Salah Sa'd and Yusuf Ramadan as members. The prosecutor's office was represented by Muhammad Shirin Fahmi, chief prosecutor for financial and commercial affairs.

The session convened 12:30 p.m. hours. Ahmad Tawfiq al-Rayyan was brought into the courtroom moments before it began. He spoke to newsmen and claimed that the government had obstructed the operation of his companies, since it had not granted him a number of permits for a group of companies. While he was in the defendant's cage, two women came up to him. One of them asked about 12,000 pounds she had deposited with him. He promised her that he would pay them to her if he were freed! The other woman answered, saying to her companion, "That's it! He's robbed us, and that's it!" None of al-Rayyan's relatives attended the session, but dozens of depositors came to follow the case and learn the fate of their deposits.

Far Removed From Islamic Law

The head of the court opened the session by asking Ahmad al-Rayyan whether he admitted the charges brought against him. He denied them.

Chief Prosecutor Muhammad Shirin Fahmi then began his presentation. He asked that Ahmad al-Rayyan remain in prison, since the investigations had not finished. He explained that the al-Rayyan family had collected deposits from citizens under the slogan, "Religion and distribution of profits in accordance with Islamic shari'ah." But they had been as far as possible from Islamic shari'ah law. They had squandered depositors'

funds. The profits they distributed had been a mirage, since they had taken money from depositors and paid it to other depositors as profits. He said they had spent depositors' money on buying luxury automobiles and apartments. Ahmad al-Rayyan had married seven times in 3 years.

After Law 146 (1988) was promulgated, they did not submit applications for settlement, nor did they return funds to creditors. It was decided to turn the owners of the company—Muhammad and Ahmad al-Rayyan, following the death of Fathi—over to the prosecutor.

He said that investigations were not yet finished. They had uncovered the existence of 175,000 depositors, whose deposits were estimated to total 1.750 billion pounds. The prosecutor's office had formed a committee to review existing documents and look for new ones. He expected the committee to finish its work shortly.

Trickery and Contradiction

He said that Ahmad al-Rayyan had played tricks and issued contradictory statements. Last 17 July, he submitted an application to the minister of economy, enclosing a telex picture from abroad, and claiming to possess \$487 million overseas. When he was asked to deposit them in an official bank, he reported that he had lost them in speculation!

Ahmad al-Rayyan and two of the lawyers then spoke. They demanded that he be released, inasmuch as his residence was well known and his passport had been taken away, so that there was no fear of his running away. In the course of his speech, Ahmad al-Rayyan mentioned that he was owed 150 million pounds by the newspaper organizations. The chief prosecutor replied and told the court he wanted to clarify the truth about these sums.

He said that al-Rayyan Company had contracted with these organizations to print large quantities of books from the classical Arabic heritage. The total value of the contracts was 100 million pounds. Contracts with a value of 40 million pounds had been carried out. When al-Rayyan was turned over to the prosecutor after the period specified in Law 146 had elapsed, the newspaper organizations returned 60 million pounds, the value of the remaining contracts, and this sum was being detained. The court then decided to retire for consultation and issuance of a decision. It heard Ahmad al-Rayyan alone in chambers, in accordance with his request, and then issued its decision that he should remain under detention for 45 days pending investigation.

During his presentation, Chief Prosecutor Muhammad Shirin Fahmi said that the prosecutor's office was carrying on investigations with some al-Rayyan company employees and influential people who had helped al-Rayyan hide money.

Investigations were also under way with the officials who had cooperated with Majdi Hashish, al-Rayyan's overseer

of accounts, and who had helped the latter bestow legitimacy on the al-Rayyan Company for Islamic Transactions, in violation of provisions of the law.

AL-MAJALLAH Explores Situation of Jews in Egypt

Living Conditions, Prejudice, Worship Discussed
45040179 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
4 Jan 89 pp 23-27

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Jewish sect, or the Israeli community, as it is sometimes called, is that social organization which oversees the affairs of Jews in Egypt. Its headquarters, which are under heavy guard by Egyptian police, are housed in a synagogue in al-Jaysh [Army] Square where the doors are rarely opened.

The sect also oversees the Jews' property and their temples. Only 16 such temples are left in Cairo, and all have been neglected. The most important of these temples is the large al-Isma'ili Temple located on 'Adli Street in downtown Cairo. It is practically the only one where prayer services are held. One Egyptian Jew we talked with told us, "A prayer service is invalid unless 10 adult males participate in it, and having that number of adult males in the large temple is sometimes difficult."

The other temple which receives much attention from Jews is the shrine of Moses ben Maimon, the greatest Jewish philosopher [who ever lived] and the private physician to Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi. That temple is located in a narrow alley near the Jews' neighborhood. Residents of the neighborhood speak of the day when Menahem Begin, the former prime minister of Israel, visited the temple after the peace treaty was signed. They say that on that day the neighborhood was transformed into an armed barracks to protect the prime minister. They also say that the Israeli ambassador frequently visits the temple, whose facade has been restored and covered with marble. The third temple of special importance is the old temple in al-Fustat, Old Cairo, which was built 800 years ago. The well-known al-Geniza documents, which contain a record of the history of the Jews in Egypt, were discovered between the layers of the temple's walls.

At the present time Egyptian Jews have no rabbi. The last Egyptian rabbi, whose name was Hayem Duvik, left Egypt in 1970 and has not been replaced. When we asked Egyptian Jews why he wasn't replaced, they said, "We don't need a rabbi. Most of us are over 60 years old. Consequently, there are no wedding ceremonies to be held which require the presence of a rabbi."

The Jews have cemeteries in a number of Cairo's suburbs, in al-Basatin and in al-Ma'adi. They also have cemeteries in Alexandria, al-Minya, al-Buhayrah, and in a few other governorates. In a matter of weeks the

Administrative Judicial Court in Cairo will hear a case filed by the Jewish sect in Cairo asking for construction on the new beltway around Cairo to be stopped because it will cut across—so says the complaint—some of the gravesites in the Jewish cemetery. The complaint says that revoking title to the burial ground contradicted the canonical laws of Judaism and that transporting the remains of Jews who are buried in that cemetery was not compatible with their beliefs.

Sectarian Division

Those who subscribe to Judaism in Egypt are divided into two principal religious sects: the Rabbanites, who believe in the Talmud and the Old Testament, and the Qara'ites, who recognize nothing but the Torah. Members of the Samaritan sect have always been a minority among Egyptian Jews. "Among Egyptian Jews," says Sulayman Murad, who until recently was a prominent member of the Jewish community, "no more than 30 can read Hebrew, and no one can write it."

Contrary to what the situation was in the first half of this century, Egyptian Jews now do not represent any economic or social power. Today, Egyptian Jews are either civil servants who have been living in retirement for some time or they are poor people living on handouts from their sect or in shelters affiliated with it. Today, there are no more than five Egyptian Jews who are engaged in business or in a profession such as law or pharmacy.

[passage omitted] Although there is a neighborhood for Jews in Cairo, Jewish history students do not think this means that Egyptian Jews lived in isolation or in a ghetto like the one they lived in when they were in Europe. It seems that such a neighborhood came into existence spontaneously for reasons that have to do with class rather than religion. Everyone who lived in that neighborhood was poor, but wealthy Jews lived in the best neighborhoods just like other wealthy Muslims and Christians.

Dr 'Ali Shalash thinks, "Although this neighborhood for Jews did exist, its existence did not prevent its residents from speaking a language that was very close to the language of real Egyptian society. The education they received and the customs they followed were also very close to the education and customs of the real Egyptian society."

But Dr Qasim 'Abduh Qasim, a specialist on the subject of Egyptian Jews, thinks the Jews did not live in a cultural ghetto either. Historical sources reveal that Egyptian society did not look upon the Jews as members of a foreign community. Egyptian society considered them Egyptians who practiced Judaism. Also, the social conduct of Egyptian Jews was not different from that of the rest of Egyptian society. Egyptian Jews did not have a cultural entity that was separate from that of the society they were an integral part of. They did not have

their own literature; instead, their literature was part of the literary and cultural product of society as a whole. [passage omitted]

Judaism and Zionism

When Sulayman Murad, who was employed in an Egyptian ministry, was asked about his feelings during the October War, he replied, "Why should my feelings differ from yours or from the feelings of any other Egyptian? I am an Egyptian. There is a difference between being a Jew and being a Zionist."

The relationship between Judaism and Zionism has undoubtedly had an effect on conditions for Jews in Egypt. No two scholars would disagree about the fact that the injection of Zionist ideas among Egyptian Jews early during this century was a sharp turning point in the history and future of Egyptian Jews. [passage omitted]

Egyptian Jew on Israeli Issues

45040179 London *AL-MAJALLAH* in Arabic
4 Jan 89 pp 24-25

[Text] Shihatah Harun, an Egyptian Jew, tells AL-MAJALLAH, "We've been treated like second-class citizens, but I refuse to go to Israel."

Shihatah Harun is one of the 100 Jews who represent all that is left of the Jews in Egypt. His parents are Egyptian, but his grandparents came to Egypt from Aleppo. Mr Harun, who is an attorney, is over 60 years old. He was in Egypt during all the Arab-Israeli wars.

Harun opposed the Camp David Accords because they would bring peace to no one: not for the Arabs and not for the Israelis. In his own mind, the Camp David Accords laid a foundation for American interests in the area. Harun thinks the Partition Resolution, Resolution 181, which was adopted in November 1947, could have spared the area 40 years of tragedies. It could have also kept Israel in check. Shihatah Harun is not too enthusiastic about attempts by some Arab governments to invite Arab Jews to return to their countries. He thinks such an invitation comes too late and will not bring about practical results.

In 1979, after the peace agreement with Israel was signed, Shihatah Harun, the Egyptian Jew, went to the large Jewish temple in Cairo when he learned that Yigal Yadin, Israel's deputy prime minister at the time, was visiting Egypt and would attend the Sabbath eve prayer service in the temple on Friday evening. In the temple Harun told Yadin, "As an Egyptian, I think the treaty offends the dignity of the Egyptian people." The man was arrested because of that incident.

AL-MAJALLAH met with Mr Shihatah Harun in Cairo where he was asked what he thought of Yasir 'Arafat's address to the United Nations.

Mr Harun said, "It is a great step. I have been advocating accepting the partition since 1947. Had the partition been accepted then, the area would have been spared 40 full years of conflict. Now that a Palestinian state has been established, time will play its part. I believe that Israel's rulers never supported peace because peace would undermine the foundations of the military society in that country, which depends basically on rallying people against a common enemy. Consequently, the establishment of peace would cause that regime to lose the reasons for its existence."

Harun went on to say, "The future of Israel itself is undoubtedly in question. Will it be absorbed into the area or not? Furthermore, the history of the ruling party in Israel makes it clear that Jews have always relied on the superpowers. They tried to rely on the Ottoman Empire and they tried to rely on Germany. Then they tried to rely on Britain, and now they are relying totally on the United States. Nevertheless, the difficult question, as far as the future of Israel is concerned, is this: How long will the United States continue supporting Israel? I support the partition and the establishment of two states. I support the partition so that Palestinians can have their own country, state, and passports."

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you then disown the dream of a greater Israel?

[Harun] Without a doubt. The existence of two states would be enough to kill that idea.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But don't your holy books talk about the land of a greater Israel?

[Harun] I don't believe so. The Israelis turned the Torah into a national history book, and that is a mistake. Throughout history numerous invasions were carried out by the people of the area, and we cannot say that the Jews were forced to leave the area at a certain date.

[AL-MAJALLAH] You are a Jew. At the same time you are an Egyptian citizen. Did you ever feel that your religion cost you any of your rights as a citizen?

[Harun] No one can cause me to lose my citizenship. There is no doubt that I was subjected to harassment, but I have completely overcome that. I am an Egyptian and a Jew, and I've never placed the two elements of my being against each other.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Did your daughters face problems in their social circle?

[Harun] Of course they did. Every day when they came home from school, my two daughters would be in tears because their civics teacher insulted the Jews. To the psyche of a 7 or 8-year old child, that, of course, was cruel. But I would always explain things to them, making it clear that what the Egyptian teacher was doing was less than what the Jewish teacher was doing in Israel, where

the courses of study are concerned exclusively with glorifying Jews and denigrating Arabs. I would always remind my daughters that what they heard here was nothing more than a reaction to what the Arabs heard there. After that, they had no reason to be in tears when they came home from school.

[AL-MAJALLAH] You wrote a letter to Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in February 1967. In that letter you said that, since 1948, Arab governments have treated their Jewish citizens in such a way that they virtually ended up giving Israel 60 percent of its manpower. Do you believe that Jews in Arab countries have been treated somewhat like second-class citizens?

[Harun] Yes, I do. In Egypt, for example, Jews were denied citizenship because they were Jews. In 1948, they were held indiscriminately in detention camps. To force them to emigrate, terrorist acts were committed against them at the instigation of British colonialists and even of Zionist groups.

In 1950, the Arab League issued secret recommendations aimed at applying pressure on Jews in Arab countries to induce them to leave those countries and never to return. Accordingly, it was decided that tickets issued to Jews who wanted to leave their countries would be stamped with the phrase, "final departure." Those Jews were also asked to sign a document which stated that they were giving up their citizenship. In Egypt, for example, Decree Number 183 of 1964, which was issued by the minister of the interior, required that Jews be blacklisted because of their religion.

Jews—all Jews—were indiscriminately arrested whenever an Arab-Israeli war broke out. Furthermore, Jews in general were barred from military service just as Arabs are barred from military service in Israel. One observation remains: we are listing these practices without regard for the reasons for them and without regard for any comparison between these practices here and the discriminatory practices which take place in Israel.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Your statements imply that you are accusing Arabs of being anti-semitic.

[Harun] Let me explain to you that anti-Jewish propaganda, that is, anti-semitic propaganda, came out of Egypt and Iraq simultaneously because British colonialism was behind this propaganda, which it found to be useful to its interests in one way or another. That was in the forties.

I wish to explain once again that, despite everything, Jews here did not face any racism like the racism they faced in Europe. What happened here was quite simply a situation which resulted from the fact that the enemy happened to be Jewish. Furthermore, that enemy was responsible for massacres at Bahr al-Baqar, at Abu-Za'bal, and at other locations.

Regarding whether or not he would like to visit Israel, Harun said, "I refuse to go to Israel, even for a visit. I refuse to go to Israel as long as Israel does not recognize the Palestinians' right to determine their own destiny. Only 20 percent of Egyptian Jews went to Israel. The rest immigrated to the United States and Europe. Those who went to Israel did not go there because they believe in Zionism, but rather because their declining economic conditions made them look for what they thought would be a solution. Furthermore, successive wars and measures taken by Arab governments played a significant role in what happened."

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you agree with those who say that Jews should have their own national homeland?

[Harun] And do you support those who say that Muslims should have an Islamic state and Christians a Christian state? In general, history will provide the answer to that question. In my opinion the idea that there should be a state exclusively for Jews is an extremely backward idea that also violates the provisions of the Balfour Declaration. If history has determined that all countries of the world have a mix of different races and religions, why should it be determined that Jews only have their own exclusive state? I also have one question to ask Israeli leaders who are in power and who are refusing to negotiate with the PLO because they claim the PLO is not the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people: Was the Zionist organization which negotiated the Balfour Declaration with England the sole legitimate representative of the Jews?

Minister Promises No Electricity Price Hikes *45000111 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 16 Jan 89 p 6*

[Text] Upon his departure from Cairo for Turkey yesterday, Engineer Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and power, affirmed that there is absolutely no truth to what some newspapers have reported about expected increases in electricity prices.

During his 3-day visit, Eng Mahir Abazah will participate in the five-party meeting that begins today in Ankara. Energy ministers from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, and Iraq will attend to discuss setting up an electricity grid among these countries and linking it with the European grid.

Export Regulations Simplified on Commodities *45040165C Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Dec 88 p 9*

[“Economic Week” column]

[Text] “Economic Week” has learned that the draft of the new import-export executive regulation includes five commodity appendices, each of which sets export conditions for a group of commodities in accordance with the welfare of the Egyptian economy, particularly as regards the protection of domestic production and increasing it for domestic consumption.

The first appendix contains a list of commodities whose export is forbidden. The list presently forbidden has been retained, but coffee beans and tea have been deleted, since a number of enterprises have been established that import and package these and for whose products a foreign market exists, and in view of the fact we should leave regulations for exporting previously imported commodities to laws and rules regulating this.

The new regulation includes a new appendix containing the agencies from which export approval must be obtained. Attention has been given to reducing these agencies to the narrowest limits and to the export fields in which the welfare of the Egyptian economy makes it necessary to obtain approval before the export of a certain commodity.

The new regulation contains an appendix that includes the types of goods that can be exported within a yearly quota under policies set by the Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade. The present list has been shortened and simplified. Only those commodities have been retained whose export would affect their availability in the domestic market. Some commodities have been removed from the list, because it became clear in past years that under the best conditions opportunities for their export never exceeded 50 percent of the assigned export quota.

The list of commodities from which the system of restrictive export quotas has been removed includes: sheep, Barqi goats, fava beans, haricot beans, peas, fenugreek seeds, falaris seeds, sesame paste, fresh sugar cane, treacle, halva, alcohol, molasses, waste artificial silk thread, waste nylon thread, (silyum), birds, cheese, eggs, grain starch, linseed oil, industrial cleansers, horse hair, and natural silk remnants.

A special commodity appendix is devoted to exports subject to mandatory inspection for all exporters in the public or private sectors. Another appendix is devoted to exports that are subject to mandatory inspection for the public sector and optional inspection for the private sector. The General Organization for Surveillance of Exports, Imports, and Customs will be notified of these lists when the regulation is promulgated.

Middlemen Reportedly Cause Higher Prices at Cooperative Outlets *45040180 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic 24 Jan 89 p 3*

[Article by Mamduh al-Waliy]

[Text] An important question is still being asked in the markets. Why is it that to date none of the plans devised by the state to do away with middlemen has been put into action? These middlemen are being called the culprits for raising prices even though no one wants to do the job they do between producers and consumers.

And here another question must also be asked about the importance of direct cooperation between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Supply. Although that cooperation has not materialized, how important is it to giving small producers access to cooperative outlets where they can sell their produce and be saved from the exclusive access to their produce which merchants have had for the past years?

Although farmers are members of cooperative associations, cooperative outlets for consumers cannot find goods to sell. Although prices continue to rise, the hope that we will succeed in getting rid of middlemen remains difficult to attain. Given the cooperatives' present conditions in Egypt and the limited relations which exist between producers and consumer outlet companies and between the cooperatives themselves, getting rid of middlemen remains difficult.

The cooperative sector, which is comprised of more than 18,000 cooperative associations, has more than 11 million members. It is estimated that the annual business of these cooperative associations exceeds 3 billion pounds. The cooperative sector's activities are divided between five unions. They are:

- The Agricultural Cooperative Union has 6,360 associations which have 4.2 million members who own 96 percent of the farm land. Its annual business is 1.267 billion pounds. That figure does not include members' savings which are deposited in banks and which amount to 1.2 billion pounds.
- The Consumer Cooperative Union has 9,762 associations with 5 million members. Its annual business is 360 million pounds.
- The Production Cooperative Union has 364 associations which have 13,000 members. Its annual business is 264 million pounds.
- The Water Resources Cooperative Union has 87 associations which are responsible for 92 percent of Egypt's fish production. These associations have 86,000 members.
- The Housing Cooperative Union has 1,459 associations with 1.5 million members. To date, 120,000 residential units have been completed by these associations at an estimated cost of 1.4 billion pounds.

Sayyid Zaki, president of the General Federation of Cooperatives says, "Despite this tremendous diversity in what is produced by agricultural and production associations, the Consumers' Union continues to rely on public sector companies or on importers for products to sell in its more than 9,000 outlets. In fact, these stores sell no more than 80 commodities."

We asked Sayyid Zaki, president of the General Federation, why there was no cooperation among the cooperatives. He said the large number of administrative agencies overseeing the unions was the reason for that.

At the Consumers' Cooperative Union I asked why that union was not stocking and selling goods produced by production and agricultural cooperatives. I also asked why it was selling only certain commodities when it could play a principal role in making commodities available at appropriate prices and getting rid of middlemen. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Zahir, president of the Central Consumers' Cooperative Union, says, "Many cooperatives are idle capacities. A few months ago, however," said Mr 'Abd-al-Zahir, "these cooperatives within the Consumers' Union started moving toward the goal."

Importing Directly Without Middlemen

"In the area of cooperation among the cooperatives, an agreement has been reached with the General Land Reform Association to sell poultry, eggs and legumes in our outlets within 1 month. Also an agreement with the Production Union is in the works to stock and sell shoes, clothing, and a few metal products in our outlets. But as far as the fish cooperatives are concerned, the fish they produce is distributed by the governors. We requested that a quota of this fish be designated for our outlet stores, especially since 80 percent of them are equipped to sell fish.

"There are numerous projects which would get us involved in manufacturing that we hope to implement. These include one project for processing tomato paste, a pasta factory, a packaging project, and storage facilities for frozen and refrigerated goods."

Mr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Zahir says, "The union does not have a packing unit or a fleet of vehicles to transport the goods because the law which governs the union, Law Number 122 for 1980, does not give the union the right to engage in economic activity. We have been requesting an amendment to this law for the past three sessions of the legislature. To date, however, our request has not been granted. That is why we are investing our members' savings, which exceed 1.2 billion pounds, in Agricultural Credit and Development Banks. Our investment approach is the same as that used by handicapped persons and widows. We deposit the funds, and we receive interest on these funds. In addition, agricultural cooperatives have 83 million pounds in bank deposits."

"The General Association for Agricultural Automation ran into major difficulties when it applied for bank loans to spread automation. In spite of that, we are unable to use any of the Agricultural Cooperative's funds to extend loans to the association because of liability [considerations]. And as far as outlets are concerned, a few general associations, like the fruits and vegetables associations, the United Association, and the Land Reform Association, have their own outlets. Members of other associations also deliver what they produce to the state."

"At the present time we don't offer loans to farmers, as opposed to merchants, and we can't keep the middlemen out. That is why we are considering setting up a fund to

finance such operations, even though the establishment of a cooperative bank will solve that problem. We are considering setting up such a fund because the funds that are available to us are adequate for setting up a bank without having to rely on the state for anything."

If the purpose of cooperation between the Consumers' Union and the Agricultural Union is limited to getting rid of middlemen, especially those who deal in fruits and vegetables, can the 2,000 plus outlets of the Consumers' Cooperative achieve that and get rid of the middlemen? Let us go to the General Association for Marketing Fruits and Vegetables, which has 18 associations in the governorates and has been in business since 1972. Let's go to that association and find out how much it can do to curb the role played by middlemen, in sympathy with producers and consumers. Let's find out how much that association can do to bring together what small producers produce and offer them loans so they would not have to turn to merchants.

Engineer 'Abd-al-Basit Mahmud al-Barbari, the association's director, explains the details of the situation and says, "The association operates on several levels and offers its members loans, production requirements, as well as marketing and export [assistance]. Last year total loans earmarked by the association amounted to 800,000 pounds: 500,000 pounds of that amount were lent to 10 governorates, and the rest was lent to individuals. Also last year the total amount of funds spent for production requirements, seeds and pesticides, amounted to about 150,000 pounds. We also sell what our members produce, and we earn a 5 percent sales commission. Farmers bring their produce to the association. The volume of our business last year was to 10.2 million pounds.

"As far as exports are concerned, in 1987 exports fell to one shipment to the Netherlands. In 1988 there were no exports because of financial difficulties and because the cost of one shipment had arrived late. That is why we are trying to work with the Potato Growers' Association whose financial capabilities and markets we can use in coordinating our exports with it."

This conversation makes it clear that associations are playing a very small part when it comes to lending farmers money, even though they are making preparations for inaugurating a center in Badr Center in al-Jizah which will provide farmers with production requirements. Once that center is completed, farmers would not have to go to Cairo, as is the case now. And yet, the role these associations play remains very limited, compared with what merchants can offer farmers to maintain their monopoly over their crops.

Associations in Governorates Do Not Work Together

When I asked whose products were being sold by the association, I was told that the armed forces took approximately one fourth and retail merchants got the rest. But the Nile and al-Ahram companies, whose

offices in Rawd al-Faraj Market are adjacent to those of the Fruits and Vegetables Marketing Association, handle no more than 200,000 pounds of business a year. This represents a small part of their needs. The remaining goods they need are purchased from Rawd al-Faraj merchants.

'Abd-al-Basit al-Barbari adds, "It is true that we do not have all the varieties, but fruits and vegetables associations in the governorates have the remaining varieties. All that consumers' cooperative stores have to do is contact these associations and get what they need from them instead of doing what they do now, which is buy from the merchants." Mr al-Barbari then adds that cooperation among the vegetable marketing associations was still very limited. For example, tomatoes from al-Fayyum, the largest tomato-growing area, are not marketed by cooperatives, but by merchants. Each association should be responsible for delivering its governorate's produce to other governorates' associations. What is happening now, however, is that an association's produce is sold only in that association's governorate.

Actually, there are small associations in the governorates whose capital is not more than 40,000 pounds. In addition, there are large associations in al-Buhayrah, al-Minufiyah, and al-Sharqiyah. When I asked if there was a fleet of vehicles to transport goods or if there were packing and packaging plants, I was told there was no fleet of vehicles to transport goods and no packing or packaging plants. I was also told there was only one plant for sorting potatoes and that it was affiliated with the Vegetables Association in Alexandria. Also, the General Association does not have its own refrigerators.

The Law Prohibits Establishment of Companies

Although 400 merchants in the Rawd al-Faraj Market exercise control over what people in the governorates eat, since produce from all the governorates goes to them, most of the profits, which are made at the expense of producers and consumers, go to at least two of the people who work with each merchant. The question that is being asked is this: What is the volume of sales for the General Association for Fruits and Vegetables compared to the volume of sales for Rawd al-Faraj Market? It would be optimistic to say that the association sells less than four percent of the fruits and vegetables; the rest is sold by the merchants. This is because the association's capital is small: it is only 800,000 pounds, and that is not enough to cover loans to farmers in one administrative center in one of the governorates, much less those loans in all the governorates.

And even if the capital of the General Association for Fruits and Vegetables were to be increased, that increase would augment its share of the volume of business in Rawd al-Faraj Market, but it will not be enough to curb middlemen's influence and monopoly. This means that cooperatives will have to play a bigger role, and fruits

and vegetables marketing associations in the governorates will have to be able to market their produce in Rawd al-Faraj Market. It also means that consumers' cooperative stores will have to purchase their needs from the fruits and vegetables marketing associations in the governorates. This would be a step toward achieving balanced prices. Under present conditions, however, getting rid of middlemen remains impossible.

Work Completed on Ra's al-Naqb—Taba Road
45000100 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 9 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by Mahmud Ghunaym]

[Text] Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of housing, utilities and new urban communities, has said that work has been completed on the Ra's al-Naqb—Taba road and that it will be inaugurated soon in order to shorten the distance from Taba and Nuwaybi' to the Martyr Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel in Suez from 460 km to 310 km. This will shorten the trip by 150 km and 2 hours.

Al-Kafrawi said that the road will also link the Gulf of Suez and al-Qina with the Gulf of Aqaba and will shorten the time to Jeddah and al-'Aqabah by car to 4 and ½ hours, thus completing the old Hajj route and allowing Hajj travelers to perform the Islamic duty of Hajj by car. This also encourages trade and tourism between Egypt and its neighbors. The project cost 18 million pounds and took 2 years of work.

Salah Hasaballah, chairman of the board of the Arab Contractors Company, who carried out the project, said that the road is 28 km long and 10 meters wide, and consists of an open tunnel through a series of extremely hard granite mountains 144 meters high. The tunnel is 745 meters above sea level.

Experts Propose Various Remedies to Housing Shortage
*45040099a Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
12 Dec 88 pp 101-107*

[Article: "Housing and Redevelopment: Problems and Solutions"]

[Excerpts] There is no problem which will not yield to confrontation. The questions which present themselves in the theater of confrontation with the housing shortage at the present time are:

What are the dimensions and real causes of the problem?

What are the appropriate solutions for overcoming and defeating the housing problem given our circumstances and resources?

ROSE AL-YUSUF posed these questions as well as other issues related to the problems of the construction, redevelopment and construction material sectors to officials

in the housing, redevelopment and utilities sector; it also recommended ways for these sectors to perform their mission as fully as possible. What did they say?

Emptying Out the Valley and Increasing Establishment of Towns and Communities

Engineer Muhammad Mahmud Hasan, chairman of the Public Sector Construction Authority, said, "The problem arises of the imbalance between construction costs and incomes. The difficult equation which requires a solution is embodied in the provision of the right housing at the right price for people with limited incomes at a time when the prices of building materials and land have increased drastically." He added that housing is not an isolated or separate problem, but rather is connected to the government's policy. In this area the chairman of the housing authority referred to important, essential solutions, most important of which are emptying out the narrow valley which is currently congested with inhabitants; expanding the desert lands; building new regions, towns and communities; and hastening the execution of important national projects. It is also necessary to amend the laws regulating the relationship between landlords and tenants and encouraging the private sector and citizens to invest in the building and construction field.

Personal Incentives To Encourage Citizens To Move to the New Towns

Eng 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Tudi, chairman of the Public Sector Redevelopment Authority, considered that the source of the problem is that the major cities, such as Cairo, contain many old buildings inhabited by a very large number of people, and there is no scope for horizontal expansion in these cities. Therefore, solving the housing shortage will require moving the population density to the new cities along with the need for personal incentives, such as educational or material ones which will encourage citizens to move to these cities and reside in them. It is also necessary to carefully and seriously execute the laws that exist; these call for the establishment of new factories in the new cities to alleviate the burdens on large cities which currently suffer from a population density and the inability of utilities to respond to the new needs.

A Crisis of Awareness

As to Eng Ahmad Fakhr al-Dali, chairman of the Public Sector Building Materials Authority, he denied that there was a general housing shortage, because the shortage is restricted to some cities such as Cairo and is a result of the accumulation and the flight of citizens from regions to them. He said that the housing shortage is a crisis of awareness, because there are many empty housing units in the new cities and, in spite of employment opportunities, stability and investment in the construction and other field in these cities, young people do not move to them. He added that achieving the desired progress will require an increase in employment opportunities in the new cities and the avoidance of the capitals and crowded cities.

Concerning the role assigned to the building materials sector, Eng Ahmad Fakhr al-Dali said, "The authority is dealing with the burdens cast upon its shoulders in the most thorough manner; cement production increased fourfold in the period 1982-88, and in the coming year, 1989-90, self-sufficiency will be achieved in cement. As to the production of alternatives to bricks, we are achieving self-sufficiency. With respect to iron, one can say that the al-Dukhaylah iron project has played a real role in the production of 750,000 tons per year in addition to the existing local output; in the area of gypsum production we have reached self-sufficiency, and there is a plan to export the surplus."

Solution of the Problem in a National Context

Eng Hasan 'Abd-al-Muta'al, chairman of the Egyptian Contracting Company Incorporated, "al-'Abd," says that there is nothing which can be called a housing shortage; rather, this problem is to be considered as one of the development problems of developing countries which lack competence in the use of the available materials and resources, while at the same time suffering from an increase in demand. This situation creates, and therefore the theory of comprehensive, integrated planning has appeared. This includes the tabulation of available resources and possibilities, as well as the means of using them competently to realize the desired goal at the lowest cost and in the shortest time. Therefore, the housing problem must be solved in the context of comprehensive national planning with the other remaining sectors. A minister or sector cannot by solve this problem alone. It requires setting out a comprehensive, realistic plan in which all the agencies of the government and citizens will take part, provided that this plan be flexible and can be modified in accordance with local and international circumstances. [passage omitted]

Leaving the Market to Factors of Supply and Demand in a Carefully Studied Manner

Eng Mustafa Muhammad Hifnawi, chairman of the Sigwart Company, considered that the housing problem at the current time is the result of conditions aggravated over the years; the desired rate of housing construction now is in excess of available resources, since the government has procrastinated for many years without solving the problem, because of the circumstances of the war and the economy. The government is now required to proceed at a faster rate so that it can keep up with the tremendous increase in demand for housing. [passage omitted]

Any modification of this relationship will require bold political decisions to help the relationship between landowners and tenants. It has also become desirable, in confronting the housing shortage, to leave the market to the factors of supply and demand in a carefully studied manner, since uncalculated intervention in this matter could complicate the problem.

Solution of the Housing Problem Is Linked to the Solution of the Economic Problem

The accountant Fadil al-Shahawi, chairman of the Heliopolis Housing and Reconstruction Company, said, [passage omitted] "Since the housing problem is more or less restricted to citizens with limited incomes, the government oversees the type of housing required by concentrating on economical and low-cost housing." The chairman of the Heliopolis Housing and Reconstruction Company turned to a group of important elements affecting the housing issue, including the need to provide land equipped with utilities so that housing can be erected on it, to provide the requisite building materials, to amend the laws in a manner which will lead to regulation of the relationship between landlords and tenants and to encourage the private sector and citizens to invest in the housing field.

New Laws Regulating the Relationship Between Landlords and Tenants and Encouraging the Private Sector To Build

Eng 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Dahshan, chairman of the General Arab Contracting Company, asserted [passage omitted] the inevitability of effecting coordination between the desirable and the possible. It is difficult for the government alone to meet all the citizens' housing requirements, and participation by citizens and the private sector in the housing process is necessary. In order for this to take place, it is necessary to provide facilities in the new areas of expansion, the most extensive of which are in the new cities, and [to provide] deed land to young people, families and everyone wanting to build. It is also necessary to set out new laws regulating the relationship between landlords and tenants so that balance will be created in the relationship between the two parties, and it is necessary that the interests of the two parties be observed. [passage omitted]

Comprehensive Planning and a General Policy for Achieving Equity in Distribution

Eng Sulayman Muhammad Sulayman, appointed member of the Egyptian-Swedish Steel Basin Production Company, said that Egypt is not suffering from a housing problem but the problem facing the country at present is the housing laws, for the reason that there are 1.8 million vacant housing units, in spite of the constant talk about the housing crisis. [passage omitted] It is necessary to provide a new, advanced information system through which it will be possible to make a census of citizens and the number of housing units and determine the number of units fit and unfit for inhabitants and the type of such units.

Attention to Prefabricated Housing

The consulting Eng Sami Tawfiq, fellow of the society of engineers and chairman of the Egyptian Prefabricated Installation and Building Company, asserted the need for attention to prefabricated housing as a solution to the

problem of housing in Egypt and said that prefabricated installations have been known for only a short period of time. They started in the military sector in 1973, then moved to the civilian sector after that. He added that prefabricated housing had a number of elements, starting with design and manufacture, then installation and finally finishing, and each of these elements has its foundations which must be given proper attention. Unfortunately, prefabricated housing is not taught in Egyptian universities; therefore it is necessary to engage in the manufacture of prefabricated housing in the sense of mastering the techniques and technology of this industry in every operation, be it large or small. Concerning the position of the people using this industry, Eng Sami Tawfiq pointed out "Nonhousing use has taken up the capacity of this industry, be it hospitals or hotels. With respect to housing, there are the new cities, where we find that the greater the number is the smaller are the costs. The whole world has come to use this type, and there is, inevitably, quality in the industry in Egypt because the raw materials for manufacture are present, and the technical expertise exists."

Development for the Sake of Construction

While the construction and contracting sector is one of the most important of the ones making an effective contribution to the realization of development—since construction and building investments account for 40 to 45 percent of total investments of development plans—objectivity then requires that light be cast on the effective role this sector, which contains more than a million workers, is playing, the problems obstructing its progress and the recommendations set out for remedying these problems. Eng Muhammad Mahmud Hasan, chairman of the Public Sector Construction Authority and chairman of the housing committee in the People's Assembly, enumerated the most prominent dangers to which contracting companies are exposed. These are:

- The accumulation of the sums owed to contracting companies among clients, especially government and quasi-governmental bodies, to the point where the public and private sector companies' total indebtedness now exceeds 1 billion pounds.
- In the application of Law 9 for 1983 bearing on bids and auctions and its Executive Bill 107 for 1983, great difficulties and obstacles for the sector have arisen because of the imbalance between the rights of the administrating entity and the rights of the contractor in the form guaranteed by this law and its executive bill.
- The failure to raise the prices of contracting agreements pursuant to, and in accordance with, the phenomenon of rises in prices and rises in the minimum wage for reasons outside the will of the contractors, in a manner which does not realize justice or guarantee the proper and organized course of work.

Eng Salah Hasaballah, chairman of the board of the Arab Contractors Company, 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman and Partners, said, "The company is owed large sums by

government bodies whose projects it is carrying out. This leads to a total lack of liquidity and we are compelled to borrow from banks to continue our progress in realizing the desired resurgence in reconstruction, in a manner which leads to our commitment to pay astronomical figures in bank interest. For example, last year we paid 75 million pounds to the banks, and the year before that about 70 million pounds. That means that our profits accrue to the benefit of the banks, while no fines are imposed on the client, that is, fines for delay in payment of the value of the invoices submitted to him, while the contracting companies are committed to paying fines for delays if they are late in handing over some of the jobs assigned to them by the schedules stipulated in the contract." Eng Ahmad Kamal 'Abd-al-Fattah, chairman of the board of the Arab Design and Engineering Consultancy Office and member of the board of the Public Sector Construction Authority, added, "The construction sector in Egypt contains 27 companies belonging to the construction authority, about half of which realize annual losses or have a combination of losses. Most of these can be attributed to external elements, of which the most important is the lack of sufficient liquidity to enable the companies to carry out their projects. While borrowing from banks is easy for some companies, including their defraying interest which amounts to 18 percent, it is impossible for others to obtain the necessary loans in view of the limits on credit permitted by the banks. The gist is that the construction companies work and lose, while the banks gain." [passage omitted]

Eng Imam Mahmud Imam, chairman of the al-Nasr Building and Facility Company, Egyco, stressed the importance of the availability of cash liquidity, which is to be considered the basis of the capital cycle. For example, the Egyco company has money of about 40 million pounds owed by clients, most of which are government bodies, and we have not obtained it for any cause. The value of the open withdrawals made from the banks has come to about 18 million pounds, on which we pay more than 2 million pounds in interest a year, while the amounts due the company are frozen and no interest is calculated on that.

Eng Muhammad 'Afifi Mustafa, chairman of the board of the al-Nasr Civil Works company, added that the failure to pay out the accumulated sums owed by clients has resulted in a total lack of liquidity and working capital and led to the phenomenon of extreme procrastination and the pileup of bank interest because of open withdrawals and the suspension by most banks of the grant of credit facilities. This ultimately has resulted in a large number of companies continuing to realize massive, cumulative losses which have used up most of the capital, exposing them inevitably to a shutdown or liquidation.

In this regard Eng Muhammad 'Ali Hasan recommended that the matter be done through the immediate disbursal of half the amounts due which there is no dispute over and agreement between the clients and

the contracting companies over a schedule for paying out the remaining half, while requiring that the indebtedness be voluntary and free of judiciary measures, while interest be paid out at the rates current in the banks. It might be appropriate to set out legislation compelling the contracting bodies to pay out the amounts due contractors over which there is no dispute within a specific period of time; after this time the contractor will have the right to cancel the contract in the manner in effect in government contracts or in contracts reached with foreign companies.

Major General al-Mu'tazz Mahmud Isma'il, chairman of the board of the al-Nasr Company for Utilities and Installations, underlined this recommendation, saying, "It is necessary that the government bodies (the clients) defray any bank interest which is imposed on the construction companies as a result of their delay in paying the value of the sums to be collected; or that they put the financing allocated to their projects in a bank and the bank pay the value of the invoices presented to it (by deducting them from the government entity's balance and transferring them to the executing construction company's balance).

Doctor and Eng Ahmad Kamal 'Abd-al-Fattah recommended the establishment of a special bank for construction along the lines of the Industrial Development Bank, the Reconstruction and Housing Bank and commercial banks. This bank would have qualified specialized technical and administrative agencies, with the provision that this bank could enter in as a partner with the construction companies in the activities assigned to them. [passage omitted]

Eng Ahmad Fahmi Husayn said, "Some raw materials used are produced locally and we suffer from a frequency in suspension of the execution of work because they are not available at the desired times. Others import these, and the major problem we are suffering from as a result of the aggravated deficit in hard currency is no secret to anyone. For example, in the first months of this year, a deficit occurred in steel as a result of which most companies suspended the execution of their operations, and we waited to get iron for 4 months, though we had received cement. It is well known that cement is subjected to deterioration if it is stored for a long time."

Maj Gen al-Mu'tazz Mahmud Isma'il raised the problem of imbalance in contracting relations between the rights of the administrative entity and the rights of the construction companies, stating: "The contracts which bind the construction companies and clients are humiliating ones. They devise commitments for the construction companies which are not matched by rights." He added that some entities (clients) did not prepare the desired specifications in their projects in a thorough manner, and in addition the studies some people carried out were not adequate and this took a long time for redesigning.

Eng Muhammad 'Afifi Mustafa also called for the need to create balanced contracts between the construction companies and clients, as is observed in the contracts concluded with foreign companies. [passage omitted]

Eng Salah Hasaballah requested the reinstatement of assignment orders for allocating work to construction companies, reduction in the search for assistance from foreign experts (foreign companies) in the area of building and construction in the case of projects which needed expertise that was not available locally, and attention to humane relations by seeking to get employees to participate in the management of the installation in a genuine manner. [passage omitted]

Eng Ahmad Fahmi Husayn asserted that contracting branches, the notion on which was embraced by Eng Muhammad Mahmud Hasan, have been the first serious action along the road to correcting procedures and advancing the development of the construction companies. He requested further liberation and freedom of movement and discretion for the boards of construction companies so that they would be able to compete with the private and foreign sector. It was necessary to send awards tendered for the construction of government projects to construction companies even if their prices exceeded what was offered by the private sector by 10 percent, as had been followed in the past, in observance of the social responsibilities laid on the shoulders of the public sector, not to mention that these companies' profits would revert to the government treasury.

Eng Imam Mahmud Imam also called for the need to create contracts balancing the rights of the client and the rights of the contractor. It was necessary to be committed to all their sections. He said "The establishment of the general contracting branch of the Chamber of Commerce would be a beginning in setting out the foundations for such a balanced contract, and we call for the need to issue a rapid law establishing the federation of contractors, which many countries we have outstripped by hundreds of years in the realm of construction and building have anticipated us in."

Eng Salah al-Duraydi, chairman of the board of the General Sanitary and Supplementary Contracting and Works Company, considered that it is necessary that there be development among all construction companies. Such development would include machinery, equipment and the training of workers, and it was necessary to create a balance between the requirements of production and the requisite requirements. For instance, we are suffering from a severe deficiency in white tile, which is considered a basic element in productive requirements and the spirit of low- and medium-cost housing.

Eng Salah al-Duraydi added that attention was directed to the company by the minister on grounds that it was the finishing touch which imparted distinction and beauty to the work.

Eng 'Abd-al-Massih Lashin called for the need for the restoration of assignment orders or direct orders from the ministry for the execution of jobs in government possession. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 107]

A Study Worthy of Application: Renting Low-cost Housing Units in the New Towns Instead of Offering Them for Sale

The accountant Fu'ad al-'Ashari, first deputy minister of housing and redevelopment and president of the Cairo Housing and Redevelopment Company, has presented a study on renting low-cost and economic housing units in the new towns instead of offering them for sale, provided that the price of permits be set for monthly occupation and living rooms be considered rooms costing 9 pounds per room. This will mean that a permit for two rooms and a living room would be 27 pounds and that the rate for a permit for a housing unit of three rooms and a living room would be 36 pounds a month. In assessing the permit, provision is made that it should be about 50 percent less than the rental value in accordance with the law on rents and that it be within the limits of a quarter of the monthly incomes of people working in the new cities, which range from 100 to 150 pounds per month per worker. In the light of an opinion poll among some investors, the accountant Fu'ad al-'Ashari submitted an alternative recommendation whose gist was that the rental price for occupation be 15 pounds per room; this was provided that the worker defray the sum of 9 pounds and the employer 6 pounds per room, in which case it would be possible to keep the initial contribution at 300 pounds for a unit of 2 rooms and 500 pounds for a unit of three rooms. The opinion poll showed the employers' satisfaction with this recommendation, especially since it was lower than the interest they would be defraying in the event the price of the units was paid by deeding. The details of the alternative recommendation also require that the persons to whom the permits are given will not pay any cash amounts aside from a guaranty to equal the rate of occupation for a single month, that is, 27 pounds for a 2-room unit and 36 pounds for a three-room unit. The permit for occupation will stipulate that the person given the permit be a person working in the city. In the case the person given the permit reaches age 60 and continues to occupy the unit, or in the event he dies, his family will continue to occupy it, on condition that one family member at least be a person working in the city. The people occupying the units who have been given permits for occupancy will be subject to the system of semi-annual followup to ascertain their continued employment in the city, and this will be by certificates the city agencies obtain from their work entities. In accordance with this recommendation, a system will be set out which guarantees permanent ongoing maintenance of housing units. People who are given permits of occupancy will take part in defraying the burdens of this without being heavily encumbered. In this new recommendation attention has been given to reaching a balance which will guarantee the authority that the burdens of the cost and the costs of the

loan are dealt with and paid at their stipulated times. With respect to the cost of land, the land required for low-cost and economic housing projects will be calculated without cost through the recalculation of the costs of the sellable land by setting aside the areas of these projects and considering them lands allocated for utilities and services. With respect to the loan cost budget, a special account will be established by the name of the low-cost and economic housing cost and burden budget fund and the receipts of this account will assume the form of contributions from employers. The guaranty for the cost of granting the permit of occupancy will be paid by those who have been given permits at an equivalent of 2 months' rent with a monthly contribution from the employers at the rate of 5 pounds per housing unit, to be allocated to works of maintenance of mutual benefit.

Now, following the submission of the details of this important study which Dr 'Ali Lutfi has praised, saying "The notion that has been set out is very good and worth applying," the question which now presents itself is: When will this study see the light of day, in the sense of being translated into a perceptible practical reality, especially since it will solve the problem of an imbalance between increasing job opportunities and the housing available in the new towns, and at the same time lead to the attainment of the basic goal in establishing the new redevelopment communities?

Urbanization Conference Points to Poor Housing, Overpopulation
45040164A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Dec 88 p 9

[Article by Sharif Jaballah]

[Text] Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning, today opens a conference on "Urban Expansion: Causes, Problems, and Urban Development Policies." The conference is being organized by the National Planning Institute, in collaboration with the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Over the course of 3 days, and through the presentation of 19 papers contributed by professors and experts from the Planning Institute, government ministries and agencies, universities, and scientific research centers, the conference will discuss various aspects of urban expansion—its advantages and disadvantages, its development stages, and its economic, social, educational, and cultural aspects. Future urban growth trends will be discussed in the context of achieving a better geographical organization for economic and social activities in Egypt.

Papers at the conference point to many important figures and facts related to the housing and urbanization problem:

- There is a housing gap currently estimated at about 4 million housing units.

- There is a geographical and regional population imbalance—e.g., about 25 percent of Egypt's population is concentrated in Cairo, which has about .5 percent of the country's area.
- In 1986, there were about 1 million people living in the cemeteries of Greater Cairo. Statistics indicate that people living in cemetery areas in Cairo governorate form 2.9 percent of the governorate's total population.
- Growing urbanization has eaten away about 1 million feddans of the most fertile agricultural land.
- While about 1.3 billion Egyptian pounds have been directed toward investments in new cities, the population living in these cities at the end of 1987 did not exceed 115,000.
- Licensed automobiles in Egyptian cities at the end of 1987 numbered about 1 million.

Haphazard Housing

Dr Shinudah Sam'an, an expert at the National Planning Institute, states that Egypt is now suffering from a large housing gap. The number of actually available housing units—and they are also actually occupied—in all regions of Egypt is 9.4 million, while families number 13.3 million, requiring 13.3 million housing units. Thus there is a 4-million-unit housing gap. Cairo Governorate alone suffers from a housing gap of about 560,000 units; housing unit demand is about 2 million units, while occupied units (representing the actual supply) number about 1.4 million units.

He says that the increased demand for housing units and the related urban expansion have led to the appearance of irregular forms of housing. In private housing, these take the form of unlicensed homes, known as "haphazard homes." Whether built outside the city cordon or even inside, they do not adhere to building rules and laws that regulate urban growth or expansion. Therefore, residential facilities such as clean drinking water, suitable sewers, and electric lighting are not available in them. Such units form 70 percent of total units built in Cairo. This has led to even more problems: pressure on the basic and social structure, and communications and transportation bottlenecks.

In addition, there are the squalid shelters of particular groups, such as the garbage collectors, cemetery residents, and the urban poor, and the squalid government shelters known as "emergency housing units."

He thinks that mitigating the severity of the housing problem in Cairo depends on shrinking current and expected demand for housing in Cairo. This will involve reducing the flow of internal immigration through the achievement of real rural development. It will also involve reducing the demand for irregular housing through the achievement of equitable distribution of regular housing. On the supply side, building sites must be made available outside the cordon of the governorate. This can be done by the government's leasing them out

for long terms (50 years) at token rents increasing by stages. These sites should be distributed to those who really are entitled to them, employing citizens' national numbers in this area, and making building materials available at reasonable prices.

In her paper on urban expansion and the housing problem in Egypt, Dr 'Izzah Sulayman, the conference chairman, called attention to the relative decrease in importance of housing investment in total state investments. Housing's share fell from 8.8 percent in 1973 to 5.9 percent in 1979. Furthermore, investments in luxury and executive housing increased during the seventies, leading to a relative decline in the importance of low- and middle-income housing and an imbalance between the levels of housing implemented.

Other factors that helped exacerbate the housing problem in Egypt include: shrinkage of the public sector role during the seventies, its abandonment of its basic function of providing suitable housing for the neediest groups, its competition with the private sector in realizing profit and deeming of it to be the standard of economic competence, the government's abandonment of many of its responsibilities in the area of building, and ineffectiveness of the laws that the government passed.

Muhammad Jamal-al-Din, general director in the planning minister, spoke in his paper about the importance of new residential communities and cities in confronting urban growth.

Despite efforts to develop new cities (these had required the investment of about 1.3 billion pounds, as follows: about 208.9 million pounds in the 1977-82 period, about 656.6 million pounds in the 1982-87 plan, and about 426.9 million pounds during the first 2 years of the 1987-92 plan), the population residing in these cities had not risen above 115,700 by the end of 1987. There were 34,000 residents in 10th of Ramadan City; 61,600 in 15th of May City; 4,300 in al-Sadat City; 8,600 in 6th of October City; 400 in al-'Amiriyah; 1,500 in Damietta; and 5,200 in al-Salihiyah.

This indicates the importance of implementing new steps and policies, so that workers arriving from neighboring areas can settle down, and so that all the constructed housing units can be put to use. The latter number 37,900 units, in addition to 48,900 units under construction. One of the most important problems facing settlement in the new cities is the high cost of constructing housing units.

Muhammad Jamal-al-Din states that the private sector in the new cities has successfully attracted private capital. Figures indicate that the private sector has invested 2.3 billion pounds in the new cities. Of this sum, about 1.9 billion pounds were earmarked for 10th of Ramadan City, for the construction of about 700 factories, at an average of about 2.7 million pounds per factory.

Urban Bias

In his paper on the problem of urban growth and environmental quality of life in Egypt, Dr Muhammad Samir Mustafa, professor at the Institute of National Planning, stated that there was an urban bias in Egyptian economic, social, and financial policies. As a result, the cities of Cairo and Alexandria had cornered the greatest share of total investment. The relative shares of Cairo and Alexandria were 45.1 percent in 1980-81, and 45 percent in 1984-85. Cairo and Alexandria had also cornered the greatest share of the industrial investment that had been distributed—40.7 percent in 1980, and 45 percent in 1983-84.

If one compares the relative share of total investments with the relative share of population in the Cairo and Alexandria regions, it becomes clear that the two regions are monopolizing a large share. The two regions' share of total investment was 59 percent in 1980, and 60 percent in 1984-85—compared with 37.8 percent and 37.6 percent of the total population in the same years.

Despite the bias toward these cities, serious problems have developed in the major Egyptian cities because of accelerating urban growth. Population density in some districts of Cairo has risen to 100,000 individuals per square kilometer. The average number of individuals per room in some districts of Cairo has risen to four. In addition, there are problems of frequent power outages.

Article Lists Domestic Chemical Products, Applications

45040165A Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic
12 Dec 88 p 10

[Article by Diya' Hafiz]

[Excerpts] The chemical industries are distinguished by their varied production to serve the national economy. Let us take as an example certain important industries that play a large role in other industries: basic chemicals, paints, plastics, adhesives, and insulators. Among the most important industries that serve other sectors are:

- Education (paper making, printing, pencils, carbon paper, photographic paper, printing inks)
- Transportation and communications (tires for automobiles, bicycles, and motorcycles, batteries)
- Housing and construction (chipboard, appliques, modern furniture, paints, formica, water pipes and electrical casings, welding electrodes, oxygen, acetylene)
- Wrapping and packaging (cardboard containers, plastic containers, containers for fertilizers and household products)
- Health (oxygen, nitrous oxide)
- Heavy and light manufacturing (coke, caustic soda, tanned leather for uppers and soles, chlorine, sulfuric and nitric acid, albumen, hydrochloric acid, sodium carbonate, sodium bicarbonate, rubber technical

equipment, carbon dioxide, ferrosilicon, artificial leather, V-belts, conveyor belts, cylinder coverings, foam rubber products)

- Consumer industries (plastic household utensils, leather shoes, rubber mats for floors and automobiles, flashlight batteries, playing cards, home insecticides, pencils)

Basic Chemicals Industry

In the basic chemicals industry a variety of kinds are produced—e.g., caustic soda, liquid chlorine, hydrochloric acid, compressed oxygen, hydrogen peroxide solution, laboratory chemicals, household cleansers, liquid ammonium, pure ammonium, carbon dioxide gas, pure ammonium nitrate, tar and the refined chemicals produced from its distillation, and naphthalene. All these are used in important industrial fields. [passage omitted]

A very high proportion of the above products are exported—e.g. urea fertilizer, coke, ammonium nitrate, crude naphthalene, modern furniture, playing cards, tires, liquid chlorine, sodium carbonate, direct dyes, vat dyes, military boots, protective shoes, gelatin, and (?linseed) and its derivatives. [passage omitted]

Columnist Discusses U.S. Economic Situation

45040165B Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic
14 Dec 88 p 12

[Article by Maha 'Abd-al-Fattah under the "Letter From Paris" rubric: "We and 'Abd-al-Mu'in"]

[Text] Have you learned about the new tune being repeated here—I mean there, since America still preoccupies my letters to you for the time being? "Our money that is thrown around overseas—we are more entitled to it!" This is not the prelude to a recent song; it is the prelude to other things.

You hear this tune from congressmen and from conversations and viewpoints that appear on the television like sudden lightning. You read it wholesale in the opinion polls. It is definitely a harbinger of things to come.

Let's start the story from the beginning. They have finally awakened over there from the daze of prosperity—the prosperity of the eighties, or that rumor that Reagan spread and the people believed. Although George Bush's rival in the elections (the Greek named Dukakis) failed, he succeeded in waking up the American people to the painful facts that surrounded them and that they did not see. He was able to confront them directly with their state of health—economic, I mean—so that they could hasten to treatment. He opened their eyes to the fact that the Reagan years were in fact lean years, and that because of Reagan's financial policies their great country had abandoned its role as the world's greatest creditor nation to become the greatest debtor nation.

Of course, this is not just my idea. I am no expert in matters of economics, but I am a good listener, and I know how to realize the significance of what I get hold of. During this trip, I have had the opportunity to listen to the opinions of many experts and specialists. Had they been in other countries, they would all have been arrested on the charge of high treason. But it is freedom—that freedom that makes the people of the country curse it, but never leave it. America! Everyone immigrates to it; we have never heard of anyone who emigrated from it. Their fundamental problem today is the budget deficit—a deficit between \$130 billion and \$140 billion in the budget for the new fiscal year (1990)—much greater than what the Reagan Administration had previously announced in its estimates.

It is not the intention of this article that we should occupy ourselves with the American economy and increase our worries—we have enough trouble and to spare! Someone might say, "What have we to do with them?" But have we forgotten that from part of their money comes part of our money? Whether we wanted it or not, that's what has happened. For many years we have relied on what we call "American aid" that comes to us regularly every year. We became accustomed to accepting the good news whenever word came that, while not increasing, the aid would not decrease from the previous year. Naturally it won't increase. Things being the way they are, it can only be expected to decrease or shrink. And not only for us; the decrease can be expected to apply to the entire list of American munificence. As the proverb says, "'Abd-al-Mu'in [”Servant of God the Helper,” a nickname for a generous man], who used to help, nowadays needs help!" That being the case, the first thing that will doubtlessly come to mind is for 'Abd-al-Mu'in to rid himself of some burdens.

Paper Praises New Four-Member Economic Bloc
JN0502120089 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic
3 Feb 89 p 3

[Editorial: "The Meaning of the New Economic Bloc"]

[Text] The new economic bloc comprising Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and the YAR reflects a new reality in the march of joint Arab action, which affirms the possibility of reaping the fruit of unity within the framework of coordination and integration while each country preserves its national existence.

This new economic bloc reflects the truth of Egypt's firm and pioneering role, not in the sense of leading the Arab world, but in its continuing capability to offer experiences and set the example which could be very useful in various fields.

This new economic bloc among four Arab countries comes as evidence that Egypt will stay in a pioneering position to unite, close ranks, and renounce the axes and polarization policies through setting the prime example which realizes the goals of unity, irrespective of the

existence of other different regional blocs. This example guarantees the realization of the requirements to protect mutual Arab interests from outside dangers which, in this modern day and age, are not only political, military, and security, but also economic, educational, and social, and have to be confronted.

The new economic bloc comprising Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and the YAR represents a serious attempt to find a new style of cooperation and integration based on work in stages.

This will be done by giving the citizens of these four countries the opportunity to move around easily, encourage capital owners to invest their money and establish some form of cultural and economic interaction, which allows expanding the base of this bloc, one of whose most sublime goals is a clear and frank declaration that it is receptive to all Arab ideas because it is clearly not a bloc that calls for concern. It is not an axis or polarization bloc. It is the start of a movement down a long road governed by clear vision and defined strategy.

Finally, one thing remains to be said: This new bloc will provide the opportunity to revive the basic constituents of the Arab personality on the individual and group levels in a way befitting the size of the current challenges.

JORDAN

West Germany To Supply 3 Helicopters to Security Department
44040202 Amman AL-DUSTUR
in Arabic 20 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Khalud al-Ja'uni]

[Text] Amman—Staff General Engineer 'Abd-al-Hadi al-Majali, director of Public Security, has expressed deep thanks and appreciation to the FRG Government for its valuable aid and continued support for the Jordanian Public Security Department.

General al-Majali expressed the hope that cooperation between the two friendly governments will continue in the interest of the security and stability of both countries and of the world community.

These remarks came during the signing of the German aid agreement yesterday morning at the Public Security Directorate. Under the agreement, the FRG Government pledges to offer aid in kind to the Jordanian Public Security Department, including three helicopters for use in internal security operations in the anti-narcotics field, organizing traffic, border control, and other activities.

The agreement was signed by Staff General Eng 'Abd al-Hadi al-Majali, Director of Public Security, and Wolfgang Schreiber, assistant to the German minister of interior for public security affairs.

The signing of the agreement came following a phase of study and mutual consultation between officials of the German Ministry of Interior and Jordanian public security experts that lasted 1.5 years as part of the German government's desire to offer continued support for the Jordanian Public Security Department in appreciation of its efficiency—in particular its remarkable efforts in the fight against drugs—and its distinguished contribution to consolidating security and stability both on the local and international levels.

Under the agreement, one of these aircraft will be delivered on 22 December of this year. At the same time, the German Government has invited the director of Jordanian Public Security to visit the FRG next March in order to receive the remaining two aircraft.

The Public Security Department will train cadres and technical crews to operate in this field in the coming years. Until this is completed, it will utilize pilots from the Royal Jordanian Air Force who are already trained and who will be attached to the department to work in this field.

The total value of this present is DM13 million, or the equivalent of 4 million dinars. It is the biggest aid the FRG Government has given to a developing country in this field.

Wolfgang Schreiber, assistant to the German minister of interior, expressed his government's appreciation for the important role the Jordanian Public Security Department is playing in order to maintain security and stability, and for its active efforts in the fight against crime, as well as its role in cooperation and coordination with other countries. He said that the Jordanian Public Security Department enjoys a high international reputation, particularly for its use of modern and developed methods, for its effective training, and for the high educational standard of the Department's personnel. The Department, he said, is an exemplary modern and developed establishment.

Staff General al-Majali presented a gift to the German delegation consisting of a shield inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The German delegation presented a similar gift, stressing the distinguished ties linking the two friendly countries, particularly in the field of security and elsewhere.

The signing of the agreement was attended by West German Charge d'affaires Hans Peter Schieff, assistants to the Public Security Director for the judiciary police, administration, operations, planning, and personnel, as well as the director of the metropolitan police, the consultant on computer affairs, the director of data and studies management, the commander of the Special Police Force, officers from the Royal Air Force, and a number of public security officers.

The visiting German delegation arrived the day before yesterday on a 5-day visit to Jordan. The Public Security Department prepared a program for the visiting delegation that included visits to the Public Security Department, the Royal Airforce transport division, and touristic visits.

KUWAIT

Central Bank Director on Success, Growth Potential

44000260 *Kuwait ARAB TIMES* in English
31 Dec 88 p 12

[Article by M. C. Bose: "Kuwait's GDP Set to Grow Further: Share Prices Expected to Show Upward Trend"]

[Text] Shaykh Salim's success in rejuvenating the banking system in Kuwait, recently earned him the title of Central Banker of the Year from the London-based capital markets magazine, EUROMONEY.

Kuwait's Central Bank Governor Shaykh Salim 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sabah has said since the early 1980s, Kuwait—as well as other oil producing countries—has faced a relatively soft international oil market, by comparison with the 1970s. Despite the sharp decline in oil revenues in past years, Kuwait has maintained a level of public expenditure deemed necessary to maintain growth, lessen the structural imbalances and release the growth potentials in the Kuwaiti economy. As a matter of fact, the five-year plan covering the period 1985/86—1989/90 has expected the GDP to grow during the plan period by 22 per cent, with an annual growth rate of about 4 per cent.

Policy

Shaykh Salim told the ARAB TIMES in an exclusive interview that with the noticeable growth rates recently achieved and expected to continue during the coming years, the financial and banking system—with the ceasefire in the region—will perform an increasing role in providing adequate levels of domestic liquidity at reasonable cost to local economic sectors.

This role requires an intensive effort from the Central Bank of Kuwait to carry out its monetary policy consistent with the general needs and objectives of the overall economic policy.

Shaykh Salim said that generally speaking, the decline of oil income is supposed to be reflected in the Arab states budgets mainly through expected squeeze in public expenditure. However, the overall result of such depends upon the method that the governments like to adopt in financing their budgets.

"Taking the case of Kuwait as an example, one can recognise that the Kuwaiti government found it more convenient to keep on the same levels of its public expenditure, an approach which reflects the economic policy with respect to economic recovery issue. In all cases, decline of oil income is not expected to have serious social problems in those countries," Shaykh Salim added.

When asked about a report that about 70 leading Arab and international economists in a recent seminar called for urgent privatisation of the private sector industries in the Arab world, the governor said: "Privatisation is a word heard more and more frequently in recent years. Let us first define privatisation—in broad terms—as the use of the private sector to provide services or facilities usually regarded as public-sector responsibilities. This process can be carried out through one or more of the following three major mechanism:

- "The private development of infrastructure facilities (project-based privatisation).
- "Contracting of services provided to the public (government service privatisation).
- "Sales of public companies assets (privatisation through equity partnership).

"In all these mechanisms, privatisation facilitates project funding, reduces the burden on the government budget, ensures participation in the funding by the beneficiaries, distributes risk amongst a large number of entities and, perhaps, makes things start faster and at lower cost. By this reasoning, privatisation can lead to a better allocation of national resources, a precondition for the enhancement of economic and social development.

Involvement

"However, here in Kuwait, government involvement in most sectors of the economy has largely expanded and the burden of financing this involvement has become heavy. As things stand, we need some realistic measures to regulate government intervention without affecting—negatively—social and economic gains accumulated through past years. Privatisation can be one of these measures, since it helps to encourage the private sector and to enhance its role in the development process. Nevertheless, the issue is not simple or easy; rather it must be discussed in the context of an accurately-defined strategy for the development of the Kuwaiti economy and the role of both the public and private sectors."

Shaykh Salim said: "The Kuwaiti banks have been always active in the international syndicated loans field. Banks' decisions for such participation are based upon certain criteria such as solvency of the borrower, guarantees, interest, country risk, currency risk...etc. From my point of view I do not find any particular reason for

the Kuwaiti banks to reject in participating in international loans to be syndicated to Iran and Iraq or to raise such loans as long as terms and conditions of these loans are in line with banks credit policies applied in this regard.

"The declaration of ceasefire will have a positive impact on the economic situation in the Gulf area which was adversely affected by the war. Therefore, the economic outlook for the Gulf, including Kuwait seem promising and optimistic."

Hike in interest rates by more than 5 per cent which many people think is very high by any standards. Will it have any impact on Kuwait Stock Market and real estate?"

Shaykh Salim said: "First of all, it is necessary and important to mention that according to the new interest rate structure applied as from 11th Dec. 1988, interest rate ceiling for Kuwaiti Dinar lending up to one year is 9.5 per cent per annum (2 per cent over the 7.5 per cent discount rate) i.e. an increase of 2 per cent over the previous 7.5 per cent ceiling with respect to non-productive lending extended up to one year.

"Regarding KD lending over one year, the present ceiling of 10 per cent (2.5 per cent over the 7.5 per cent discount rate) is not far away from the interest rates level which were prevailing according to the previous structure, as such rate was determined on the base of 1 per cent maximum over the KIBOR [Kuwaiti Interbank Offered Rate?]. Before applying the new structure, KIBOR reached a level of 8 per cent p.a., a fact which makes the interest rate ceiling for KD lending for more than one year reaches a level of 9 per cent p.a. Considering such a fact, one can recognise that the increase in interest rate lending for more than one year is within a range of 1 per cent.

Impact

"Moreover the real impact of the new interest rate structure on the local economic activity must be analysed in the light of the mechanism of the new structure and in the light of other key economic variables, which govern the performance of the economy as a whole.

"Considering the role that the quantity of money plays in promoting economic activity, and considering the active impact of the fiscal policy, the new interest rates levels should not be looked at as a dampening factor to the local economic activity. One has to recognise that the new interest rate structure has been motivated to achieve certain goals, namely to sterilise the adverse effect on the local liquidity that is always resulted by the high interest rates on the international currencies.

"With respect to the impact of the new interest rates levels on the prices of the local shares, yet an inverse relation is supposed to exist as a general rule, but there are many exceptions to that because the stock market is subject to psychological pressures."

"Considering the fact that the prevailing shares prices are also at their lowest levels, thus shares prices are expected to show an upward trend even with the new interest rates levels. The trading activity in the shares market motivated by speculation, i.e. the capital gains, is an important element that must be also taken into consideration."

The Central Bank decision to stimulate and encourage Kuwaiti investments: the governor said: "As I have mentioned above, one of the main justifications behind setting up the new interest rates structure is to have more flexible structure according to which interest rates levels on KD could be easily and swiftly determined in the light of international rates levels. The mechanism of the structure and its real impact on the local economic activity includes the required dimensions that are necessary for stimulating and encouraging investments in Kuwait."

Power

When asked about Arab banks have become a big financial power but there has been a report that the Group of 10 (G-10) industrialised countries recently classified Arab banks with developing nations' banks as high-risk for lending purposes. He said: "Your question is referring to the proposed framework on 'International Convergence of Capital Measurement and Capital Standards' endorsed by the Group of 10 Central Bank governors in July 1988 with the objectives of achieving a common standard for measuring bank's capital adequacy on a risk-based capital measure, and establishing a common minimum target capital measure, and establishing a common minimum target capital for banks operating internationally. Although that framework is a practical way of strengthening the capital standard of the banks and therefore the soundness of the international banking system, some reservations about certain elements in it were raised.

"A major reservation is the differentiation between two groups of countries according to assigned risk weights. The implementation of this country's classification method implies that some of GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] major debtor countries have a better rating than their creditors. This issue was included in my speech given in Tokyo, October 1988, on behalf of the Central Bank and the monetary authorities of the Gulf Co-operation Council countries on the occasion of the 5th International Conference of Banking Supervisors.

"So, my reaction to your question is that we in the GCC have proposed in the conference, specifically, to establish a working group with representatives of all major

regional economic groupings from various parts of the world to work together with the Basic committee to modify the July 1988 version of the Capital Adequacy Standards, and to reach a logical and sound approach based on economic and financial criteria."

Experience

Shaykh Salim told the Saudi conference that the best guarantee of a sound monetary system is a secure banking sector, a maximum proven by his own experience. His success in rejuvenating the banking system in Kuwait, recently earned him the title of Central Banker of the Year from the London-based capital markets magazine, EUROMONEY.

When asked about public faith in exchange sector shattered and business plunged between 20 and 40 per cent since early September, Central Bank has taken any measures to curb exchange companies which are indulged in illegal operations, the governor said: "According to the ministerial resolution which has subjected exchange companies to the CBK [Central Bank of Kuwait] supervision, no exchange company is permitted to carry on its activity if not registered in the exchange companies register at the CBK.

"The CBK, from time to time, inspects these companies to ensure that they are not violating the law. If inspection reveals that a certain company is carrying on banking activity or other prohibited operations, then such a company will be subject to penalties including deletion from Exchange Register."

Official Warns of Economic Threats by End of Century

44040211 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
19 Dec 88 p 10

[Article by Mahmud 'Abidin: "In Lecture on Kuwait's Future Economic Strategy, Dr Muhammad al-Sabah: Local Economy Is Exposed to Erosion and Kuwait Faces Challenge of Modifying Population Structure; Kuwait Has To Develop Financial Sector Into International Market"]

[Text] Dr Muhammad al-Sabah, the Higher Planning Council's Economic Committee chairman, has warned that Kuwaiti society's living standard may decline by this century's end. In a lecture at the Economic Society last evening, Dr al-Sabah said that the conditions that govern the Kuwaiti economy's course and the future expectations of the course of real oil prices and of foreign investment revenues strengthen the conviction that the local economy's structure is exposed to erosion. He noted that the state needs to embrace a new strategy capable of introducing a qualitative change in the economy's structure with the aim of safeguarding society's values and achieving its future aspirations. Dr al-Sabah also noted that one of the challenges faced by Kuwait is

the issue of turning the oil reserve into spendable wealth—an issue emanating from Kuwait's commitments to OPEC and from a number of economic and political considerations.

Dr Muhammad al-Sabah further said that the state must reduce the risks to which the Kuwaiti society's total wealth purse and its future generations are exposed by redistributing, through investment in forming human resources, society's wealth in assets that are less risky than the oil wealth and foreign investments.

Existing Challenges

When considering formulation of the Kuwaiti economy's future strategy, one has to take into consideration a number of given facts and restrictions which limit the freedom to select the ideal course for long-range economic growth and cultural development. These restrictions, which can be summed up in the following three points, constitute major challenges to the Kuwaiti society:

- First, population structure: The population structure and the age structure represent two main elements that must be taken into consideration when pondering the long-range strategy. Because no strategy should be built on increased foreign labor in the long run, consideration must be given to providing proper work opportunities for the national workforce which will join the labor market in the coming years. Consideration must also be given meanwhile to the future requirements of this population structure, such as public and educational services and housing, and to the subsequent state spending emanating from these requirements.
- Second, oil reserve: Kuwait's oil is expected to be depleted in nearly 200 years. Therefore, caution and a long-range view are required in dealing with this resource's future.
- Third, size of local market: The local market's small size and the fact that it is an open market require the decisionmakers to look beyond Kuwait's geographic borders when formulating any long-range strategy.

The abovementioned challenges form the base needed to consider the Kuwaiti economy's future options and to try to overcome these challenges in order to chart the ideal course for economic growth. The fundamentals of economic growth require that the economic growth cycle begin with increased labor productivity which leads to a real growth in wages and in the demand for goods and services and, consequently, to an increased per capita share of production. Any long-range strategy for the Kuwaiti economy must achieve the objective of popular structure modification, must diversify the national income sources within a stable economic growth, and must close the gap between oil sector production and the other sectors' production.

Main Alternatives

The above introduction to the current position enables us to draft a general visualization of alternative strategies that make it possible for Kuwait to deal very efficiently with the national economy's expected gradual decline by proposing the following alternatives:

- First, low productivity strategy: This strategy presumes that the Kuwaiti economy can produce greater income and achieve a constant economic growth rate by mixing the locally available capital with low-wage and little-skilled foreign labor to produce local goods and services at competitive prices. But reliance on foreign labor will inevitably upset the population structure and will lead to social and political instability. Consequently, this strategy, though economically feasible, is socially and politically unacceptable.
- Second, high productivity strategy: The idea of this strategy is to build an economy centered around continued economic growth achieved through self-reliance with dynamic graduality. This economy is founded by replacing society's hydrocarbon and financial resources with human resources developed through successive doses of investment in the human element. In the final analysis, this strategy enables the economy to break away from the consequences of the excessive importation of labor, thus achieving population, political, and social stability.

First principle, developing the national manpower: The local manpower resources will be the fundamental touchstone determining the extent of the high productivity strategy's success. This manpower will also be the base through which the policies and measures pertaining to this strategy are implemented. In the final analysis, the productive Kuwaiti citizen will be the maker of the real growth and will be the objective behind and the beneficiary of the fruits of this strategy.

Therefore, the policies and measures connected with the population and seeking to modify the population structure through enhancing the Kuwaiti citizen's productivity must be compatible with the other economic sectors' policies and measures so as to avoid any hidden risks to national security and political stability.

This strategy's mainstay is embodied in education, supported by harmonious employment and wage policies, and bolstered by disciplined immigration policies. The strategy's mechanism is established by enhancing individual productivity through improved educational and training levels, coupled with high wage levels and with the adoption of selective immigration policies that import skilled foreign labor which contributes gradually to educating and training Kuwaiti labor. The supporting educational and immigration policies lead to gradually turning the job structure toward utilizing skilled labor and toward the increased employment of Kuwaiti citizens and, additionally, to reducing the size of the unskilled foreign labor.

Second principle, enhancing the government sector's capability: The high productivity strategy demands higher standards than those currently existing among cadres employed in public administration. To achieve this objective, it is required that government tendencies be channeled in two main directions in order to realize a high added value for the individual in all sectors. The first is to shift from the organizational objectives of the various sectors to strategic objectives, i.e., to avoidance of government intervention in economic affairs unless to follow up on the strategic objectives. The second direction is to shift from the practice of providing subsidy as a grant to providing it in return for performance, meaning that government subsidy for economic establishments must be made more disciplined in order to make certain that it is used to achieve the strategic objectives for which the subsidy is established.

Third principle, internationalization: The small local market, the fact that it is an open market, the small scale of human resources, and the free movement of capital dictate that the decisionmakers look beyond Kuwait's geographic borders, as already noted, by encouraging the creation of local industries with high added value and encouraging the creation of industries that require intensive unskilled labor outside Kuwait.

Fourth principle, technical improvement: This principle entails the allocation of more investment for the administrative aspects; for labor training; for developing new products; and for the gradual introduction of research, development, quality-control, and production-planning activities. It also entails the allocation of other short-range and long-range investments that enable every work unit to generate higher revenues.

Sectoral Policies and Measures

The policies and measures that can be adopted to achieve the desired objectives of the high-productivity strategy are unlimited. It may be proper to review the work mechanism of this strategy if it is to be implemented in two of the national economy's pioneer sectors, namely the financial sector and the commodity production and international trade sector.

First, financial sector: The high-productivity strategy's ultimate objective in the financial sector is to develop Kuwait into a specialized international financial center by developing, marketing, and managing varied-duration contracts in the area of raw materials such as agricultural raw materials and products. This means transforming Kuwait into a center exporting financial services through establishments that mobilize capital and manage varied assets domestically and abroad.

Developing the financial sector into a local capital center serving the national establishments is an important part of the proposed strategy. The Kuwaiti establishments

must develop the ability to obtain the financial resources they need independently and the ability to manage real assets in Kuwait and abroad.

Therefore, our recommendations in this regard are two-sided. First, Kuwait must exert efforts to transform the financial sector into a local capital market that serves Kuwaiti establishments and individuals in the international commodity and financial service markets. Second, Kuwait must exert efforts to develop the financial sector into an international financial market specialized in trading and financing oil and primary commodities. A large part of the skills and abilities needed in this regard are already available. Moreover, the development of any further skills, activities, and establishments compatible with this high-productivity strategy makes it possible to achieve considerable progress in this direction by this century's end. This requires the performance of three tasks which are important but which are not enough in themselves. They are:

- A. Bolstering confidence in the Kuwaiti financial system and safeguarding its stability.
- B. Insuring the system's independence from reliance on state subsidies by focusing on individual initiatives and responsibility.
- C. Creating the proper infrastructure to generate more varied activities in the financial and capital market.

There are a number of other initiatives capable of strengthening the performance of the financial system generally and of entrusting it with greater responsibilities, thus enhancing the role of the market mechanism in distributing resources and reorganizing or merging various financial institutions. The number and size of the existing banking institutions may be convenient for a local financial position. However, there isn't a single institution engaged in broad enough and deep enough activity to qualify as an effective leader in developing a financial center. These initiatives include:

- A. Increasing the financial sector's responsibility and reducing government subsidies: There are positive and negative aspects in the major role played by the government. We find that the state provides Kuwaiti establishments with an unprecedented subsidy, thus encouraging the private sector to engage in high-risk economic activities. Therefore, we believe that the government should define in advance the circumstances and conditions under which it will intervene in the future. The private sector must understand in advance the degree of responsibility it shoulders as a consequence of its own decisions.
- B. Reorganizing the banking apparatus: It is proper to encourage reorganization in an effort to create a limited number of banks engaged in operations characterized by

an international dimension and a number of other specialized institutions. In this case, banks characterized by distinguished performance must be encouraged and no efforts should be made to contain them in order to help other banks.

Second, the commodity-production and international trade sector: The strategy proposed for this sector relies on four mainstays. The first can be summed up by saying that emphasis must be put in the coming phase on vertical, not horizontal, expansion. The second mainstay concerns the quality of economic activity. Here, any production activity must be viewed as a chain of linked and integrated activities that can be separated from each other and placed in various geographic sites. Therefore, horizontal expansion in Kuwait must be confined to the chain of activities characterized by their intensive employment of skilled labor which can lead to increased productivity and to reducing the need for the large number of unskilled foreign workers.

The third mainstay concerns the government's incentive and subsidy policies. This mainstay calls on the government to embrace the policy of subsidy in return for the accomplishment of specific measurable objectives. These objectives are embodied in increased participation by the national workforce, an increased export percentage, and product diversification. The fourth mainstay constantly supports the role performed by the public sector in directing the economic growth course while gradually reducing government ownership of the means of production and providing the private sector with the opportunity to perform a distinguished role in this sector. Moreover, the government's supervisory role must be simplified and facilitated.

For the proposed strategy to be accomplished, a number of supporting initiatives and policies required by the coming phase have been drafted. This package of public policies consists of: First, continued subsidy for the production elements, such as water and electricity, and continued customs exemption of imported semiprocessed goods. Second, providing industrial loans for the transfer of technology. The loans can turn into grants within 3 years if the establishment concerned can increase national manpower to 30 percent of the total manpower [employed], if it can increase its exports to 30 percent of total sales, or if sales of new products amount to 30 percent total sales. Third, the government can adopt a financial subsidy policy that provides for the subsidy to amount to a certain percentage of a company's expenditures on applied and engineering research and on development. Fourth, to strengthen the training of Kuwaiti labor, especially of workers at the higher administrative and technical skill levels, a financial subsidy equal to the investment made by a company for manpower training must be provided by the government. Fifth, the administrative burden shouldered by both the government agencies and the local establishments must be reduced.

Implementing and following up on the proposed strategy requires an organization of supporting establishments. The first of these establishments can be formed under the name of the industry and technology agency and its responsibilities can be summed up in boosting commodity-production activity within the framework of the high-productivity strategy. This agency must also supervise the implementation of and must follow up on the abovementioned policy package. In order for this agency to have a real opportunity to perform its fundamental tasks, two bodies must be formed within the agency to support it. The first body should be formed under the name of the Kuwaiti general trade corporation, and it should be responsible for enactment of the principle of internationalization by seeking financial and production investment opportunities abroad and by exchanging industrial, marketing, financial, and other kinds of information with investors working in local establishments. The second body should be formed under the name of the productivity enhancement center with the aim of improving the productivity levels through the introduction of modern technologies that advance the capability to manage technical and financial affairs, such as managing quality-improvement procedures, planning production, controlling stores, introducing the incentive systems in a careful scientific manner, analyzing production costs, and above all boosting the spirit of competition, innovation, and rejuvenation among the sector's workers.

Second, improving the productivity levels of all available assets by building an economic structure capable of creating highly-productive work opportunities compatible with the national workforce's aspirations and skills.

Third, reducing the risks of reliance on oil wealth through qualitative expansion in the other economic sectors and through investment in forming human resources.

LEBANON

Formation of Palestinian State Criticized

Fadlallah Calls Palestinian State 'Mirage' 44040145 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 19 Nov 88 p 4

[Excerpt] The very learned Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah believes that it is unlikely that a solution will be found in the near future to the Lebanese crisis "because everyone is taking their time arranging Lebanese affairs as they see fit so that the details are in accord with American policy in the region." He expects "very difficult and bitter phases to follow this difficult phase." He described the proclamation of a Palestinian state as a "step which adds a new mirage to Arab political mirages," and stated that "we as Islamicists reject this state; we want the state to include all of Palestine."

Fadlallah led Friday prayer services at the Imam al-Rida Mosque, and delivered a sermon in which called for an end to civil strife, stating: "You live honorably by the Koran, and you learn from it how to debate together and bear responsibility together; let us adhere to the Koran and abandon anyone who wishes to distance us from it under any circumstances."

He spoke of his recent visit to Iran and his meeting with Ayatollah Khomeyni, whom he quoted as saying: "America is attempting to wage war against Islam, not Iran. The issue is not that of a country entering into a conflict with America. Rather, it is one of Islam entering into a conflict with America in order to reduce America's arrogance vis-a-vis its control of the world."

Fadlallah added: "When I said to him that this arrogance has striven to besiege the Islamic situation with all of its means, he said: 'It is a movement of arrogance in opposition to the truth of the Islamic situation.' When I requested that he send a message to the believers here who adhere to, and are deployed on, the line of Islam, he said: 'Tell them that I send to them all my love and greetings, and that their memory is in my blood. Tell them to remain upright in the face of arrogance, not to fall regardless of the pressures, and to embrace Islam regardless of the challenges, and not to abandon it. Tell them that they must continue marching along difficult lines, the line of the jihad, and that they must not falter in the face of the pressures, because irreligious arrogance is striving to weaken the position of Islam. The weak will not be the vanquishers; rather be strong, and neither weep nor be sad. You are the most exalted if you are believers.'

"He advised that we remain upright in all challenging situations because the issue is not one of a suddenly occurring political situation. Rather, it is a matter of desiring to apply Islam to all facets of life so that all of religion is God's religion."

Fadlallah touched on the subject of the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state, stating: "We have no problem with the proclaiming of a Palestinian state next to the other states in the region. Our ambition is for all states to become one state, because unity confers power. But a Palestinian state does not possess land, and cannot enter into its land. It made concessions before it obtained anything, while Israel, the usurper of all the land, did not make any concession even on this level. This step, which adds a new mirage to Arab political mirages, presented a handsome image of victory to many people. At the same time, however, it represents the defeat of resolute positions that emphasize that the entire land of Palestine be for its inhabitants."

The decisions made in Algeria enter into the scope of political concessions that the Arabs began to put forward a long time ago, to the extent that the Arabs—in the Arab League, in their bilateral relations, and in their most important councils—have reached the point of running

after Israel so that it will accept a dialogue with them, and sit with them at an international conference in order to save face. But Israel has continued to maintain its initial refusal to sit with all the Arabs; it does not desire an international conference because it wants to lead them to concede all of Palestine to it.

We imagine that this proclamation will be the second issue after Schultz' initiative to besiege the intifadah [uprising] so that it is transformed into a movement which records points in the negotiating arena instead of stirring up the region. We as Islamicists reject this state; we want the state to include all of Palestine, and we tell all of our brothers who are Islamic warriors there not to fall into this pit, and to be aware of the great role which awaits them, because the Palestinian people have nothing to lose but their shackles, and nothing to gain but their freedom." [passage omitted]

Islamic Front Criticizes Declaration of State 44040145 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 19 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] Sidon—The Islamic Front in Sidon described the decisions of the Palestine National Council in Algeria as "a new political disaster which adds to the disasters which have occurred in the domain of concessions, and which constitute an ugly repeat of the inauspicious Camp David process. The front also condemned the kidnapping of Swiss Peter Winkler.

The front held a meeting attended by its secretary general, Shaykh Muhamarram al-'Arifi, Shaykh Mahir Hamud, the political official of the Islamic Group in the south, Dr 'Ali 'Ammar, Shaykh Ghazi Haninah, Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Hallaq, and (Musa')ib Haydar. Other participants included the Islamic law judge in Sidon, Shaykh Ahmad al-Zayn and the Ja'fari [Shi'a] Islamic law judge, the very learned Muhammad Hasan al-Amin.

Those attending the meeting focussed on the decisions of Algeria. They issued a statement which read as follows: "In this phase, in which the sacrifices of our Palestinian people have become great inside its occupied territory in the blessed uprising, and in which the Islamic resistance jihad in Lebanon is escalating, the decisions of the Algeria conference constitute a true overthrow of these fighting sacrifices, because they are oriented toward an official Arab course which uses the Palestinian issue as a basis of despicable political solutions, including the direct or indirect recognition of the Jewish entity, thereby usurping the Islamic land of Palestine by recognizing Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338..."

"In this regard, we can only affirm our rejection of this step on the whole and in detail because it attacks the facts of history and the values of our nation, and is considered a disgraceful rebellion against the principles of our true Islamic religion, which absolutely rejects any type of reconciliation with Israel, the Jewish usurper entity."

"We also affirm that the Palestinian issue is the issue of Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque. This being the case, no one—be he Palestinian, Muslim, or Arab, or regardless of his position—has the right to acknowledge the existence of the Jewish entity, or take it upon himself to negotiate with it, reconcile with it or capitulate to it, except through the Islamic legal duty to wage a jihad, which enjoins the Islamic nation to rebel in the face of all those who flag [in the effort to achieve] the victory of the oppressed Palestinian people and the expulsion of the Zionist invaders from the land of Palestine, which extends from the [Mediterranean] Sea to the [Jordan] River."

The front called for "much cohesion with, cooperation with, and rallying around the warrior Islamic leadership represented by the Islamic resistance movement, "Hamas," and the Islamic Jihad movement inside the land of Palestine to preserve the blessed uprising and protect it from manipulation and confiscation in the interest of illusory programs for political solutions."

It also condemned the kidnapping of an official of the International Red Cross delegation, Peter Winkler, and considers the incident "a step which harms our Islamic area and Islamic Sidon, and a suspicious attempt to distort the image of this city, which is fighting aggressively to win the freedom of one of the workers in this humanitarian institution, whose role is recognized."

LIBYA

Marketing Reportedly Subverts Importation of Milk Products
45040158B Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic
21 Nov 88 p 6

[Article by 'Ali Mansur al-'Imami: "Report on General Dairy Company, Banghazi Branch"]

[Text] Lines of trucks loaded with enormous quantities of cartons of imported al-Zahrat brand milk and innumerable kinds of cheese; quantities of containers of sterilized and pasteurized milk stacked in the middle of the roads and turned into sour milk by the sun's heat:

This phenomenon has become surprisingly common in the neighborhoods and streets of the city of Banghazi. Its effect has even extended to the poor traffic police, since it blocks traffic on some streets and has forced them to stand long hours in the scorching heat to direct traffic.

Wherever you meet them—in the street, the public market, or the consumers' association—citizens complain that this necessary commodity cannot be found in the normal distribution channels. In despair and perplexity they ask, "Where does it go, for God's sake? How do the middlemen get it? Who is responsible for this phenomenon?"

Faced with these two contradictory pictures, this phenomenon, and the questions and complaints that are raised, we shall try in this report to straighten things out and provide an answer. We went to the Banghazi branch of the General Dairy Company and took the following notes.

The secretary of the People's Committee of the branch offered to speak to us.

[Committee secretary] The General Dairy Company was founded under Law 61 (1974). The company was established for industrial—i.e., production-related—purposes. Later, trading activity was entrusted to the company, in order to achieve balance between consumption and production.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] The company was primarily established to engage in the production of milk and dairy products, and the trading role is secondary?

[Committee secretary] Yes, the company's purpose is production-related, as embodied in the great achievement of the al-Amal Dairy Factory. Importation has taken place to achieve balance between consumption, demand, and production.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] But in recent years there has been a marked tendency for the company to move toward purely trading activity, while no orientation toward production has been noticed.

[Committee secretary] Yes, at the present time the company is carrying on trading activity to a greater extent, due to the halting of the production-related division represented by the idled al-Amal plant.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Since this factory is the basic pillar of the company's activity, why has it come to a halt?

[Committee secretary] The truth is that the halt was due to technical reasons.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] What exactly were they?

[Committee secretary] The required regular maintenance was not performed on time.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] So when the plant halted, the company moved toward trading activity, since it was easier, and abandoned its fundamental purpose?

[Committee secretary] We tried to compensate with pasteurization units in al-Kuwayfiyah and al-Hawari.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Were they specifically set up for production? What is their production capability?

[Committee secretary] They were not originally set up for production. They are collection units that were modified. They did not have significant production capability.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] So, instead of moving to develop and increase the production capability of a great achievement, neglect of regular maintenance put it out of commission, and the outcome was a complete standstill!

[Committee secretary] Yes, it is a loss that must be charged against the company. In recent years, however, we have tried to renew the plant. We have reached agreement with a Danish company to renew it. The cost of the contract is about 35 million Libyan dinars. The plant will begin trial operation and will be ready for production with the same production lines as originally, which are: pasteurization, sterilization, and yoghurt. The production capability will be 120 tons a shift.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Have the personnel to work in the plant and operate it been prepared?

[Committee secretary] Yes, the best personnel have been selected.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] What about maintenance?

[Committee secretary] This point has been taken into consideration. There will be a maintenance department with high-quality personnel.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] What about trading activity—importation?

[Committee secretary] Importation is now a basic activity of the company. It is carried on through a central committee in the company administration in Tripoli, according to an estimated budget.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Does importation stop at certain times?

[Committee secretary] No, importation has never stopped, since a necessary commodity is involved and we have no shortage in allocations.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] One notices that quantities of milk and dairy products arrive aboard cargo ships and can be seen for days when they are unloaded. But then the goods disappear, and citizens ask about the goods they saw being unloaded in the harbor.

[Committee secretary] When imported cargoes arrive in the harbor, they are moved to warehouses. We cannot distribute them until they are inspected and found to be free of radioactivity. They must also be inspected by the health department to determine that they are fit for human consumption.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Does that take a long time?

[Committee secretary] We are not responsible. The reasons for the obstruction relate to the Department of Social Health. Samples remain with it for more than 2 months.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] The inspection doesn't take that long, does it?

[Committee secretary] The Department of Social Health is responsible for it. We can't settle until we are informed that it is fit for human consumption.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] What about the phenomenon of middleman dealing in company products? This has attracted attention, and there have been many complaints from citizens.

[Committee secretary] The company is not responsible for this phenomenon. We do not deal directly with the citizen. We market goods through distribution channels set by the People's Congress for the Economy.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] What are these channels?

[Committee secretary] The National Markets Company, consumers' associations, and, formerly, military stores. Goods are distributed to these outlets according to rates determined by the Secretariat of the Economy.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] If the company does not deal directly with the citizen, how do you explain the existence of sales receipts issued to individuals by the company's sales department?

[Committee secretary] They do not exist; or, if they do, they are very limited and due to particular circumstances.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Don't you see lines of cars loaded with goods belonging to the company being sold at high prices and virtually being monopolized by middlemen?

[Committee secretary] Yes, we have noticed and are very sorry. It is a phenomenon deleterious to the company, but we are not responsible.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Then who is responsible?

[Committee secretary] It seems to us that the flaw is in the distribution channels. Citizens, too, have contributed to the spread of this phenomenon.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Why wouldn't this phenomenon come from within the company?

[Committee secretary] It is very unlikely. We challenge the oversight agencies to prove that individuals from within the company are responsible for this phenomenon. We are ready to remedy it and uproot it, if we are asked to play a role in this.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] On the basis of observations that have come to us and continued citizen complaints and questions about the proliferation of this phenomenon, we have tried to establish the agency responsible—and you were a party that had to be asked.

[Committee secretary] As a party, we are open to criticism and to being pointed to, but we are certain that the flaw lies in the marketing channels and that the oversight agencies are not carrying out their role. If there is any doubt about this, we have yearly sales lists divided according to percentages for the marketing channels. All the markets and consumer associations get their share and are responsible for disposing of it as they think best.

[AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR] Do you have anything else to say?

[Committee secretary] Our goods are available continuously and at suitable prices. In particular, we will begin operating the al-Amal plant at full capacity. We have announced in the city newspapers the availability of this commodity—sterilized and pasteurized milk—at fixed prices.

Another observation: Because of their low prices, imported milk and milk products are now being distributed in quantity in markets outside the Jamahiriya. This is a contrary reaction and will lead to a worsening of the phenomenon.

Finally, I thank you for this conversation.

Report Describes Failure of Water Project
45040158A Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic
25 Nov 88 pp 14-15

[Article by al-Jilani Hasan: "We Have Had Enough Companies of Failure, Umm Basisi Story at al-Hawamid and al-Majabirah Water Project"]

[Text] "And We made every living thing of water" [Koran 21:30].

A bitter truth that people great and small are forced to swallow! A dream for the future that an official's patronage and careful follow-up shatter! The days pass and the bitterness increases. The dream disappears behind piles of fiascos that turn the hair of a young man gray. This subject is directly from nature and according to the documents and files.

It is the al-Hawamid and al-Majabirah water project in al-Niqat al-Khams municipality. The faltering fortunes of this project have made it the play of the century in the hands of the implementing companies. The first of them passed it to the right; the second passed it to the left; and the time for playing is not over yet, despite the extreme importance of the project—as indicated by the Koranic verse.

Through their conferences, the people of both villages urgently advised that the project needed to be implemented, but the matter seemed to be of no concern to the secretariat of utilities.

It kept leading the people to believe it would be implemented!

The contract had been signed with the company!

Its machines would arrive from the sea!

The pump was ready in the warehouse!

With such daily replies, what joy we had about water!

It is the endless Umm Basisi [as published] story that we have become used to hearing since we were children.

This is the outcome of all our public projects, due to the lack of field visits and of interest by officials who are supposed to remedy mistakes in time.

Most sector secretaries have not yet smashed the bugbear of traditional management, nor have they allotted part of their time to supervise and follow up all the projects that concern their sector.

Let us tell you the story of this project of ours!

On 26 December 1981, a contract was signed between the secretary of the Ghadamis People's Committee and the director of the German Maas Industrie company to implement project number 5/1981, at a total price of 1,319,163 dinars. The term of the project was 300 days, beginning on 3 August 1983, and ending on 28 April 1984.

The term of the contract was extended until 31 December 1986, since the German Maas Industrie company entered into a subcontracting agreement with Afrocarbon Construction, Inc.

The outcome was the failure of the project and the citizens' loss. The secretariat of utilities worked to calm citizens' feelings by assigning the Environmental Protection Agency water truck to fetch water for the villages of al-Hawamid and al-Majabirah against a payment of 5 dinars a truckload; however, in accordance with the principle that "what is built on futility is futile," the solution was irresponsible and not serious.

How long will citizens remain waiting, particularly during the summer? How long? Where are the practical solutions?

Where is the decisive, revolutionary method of solving such problems that block the rights of citizens?

The entire distance involved in the digging and installation of pipes did not exceed 6 km, including the distance of the two wells from the two villages! Isn't this a crime?

Why did the revolution break out, and why did citizens embrace their revolution from the beginning?

The revolution and citizens are as far as can be from this corruption, from this devastating, disgusting failure!

Why are decisions of the basic popular congresses denigrated?

Why this patience mixed with impotence and despair regarding these failing companies in particular?

Why, why, O officials of al-Niqat al-Khams municipality?

When will you move? When shall we see you under the sun's rays at work on this project, not in sitting rooms with telephones ringing?

This project is one of many that are behind schedule in the municipality. If I say it is the first of them, the date of the contract supports this.

Away with the failing companies! They have crushed our dreams. They have destroyed the people's wealth with playing around and trifling.

Bring the officials of this and similar projects to trial; perhaps they will then awake from their rosy dreams and experience the daily sorrow and need of citizens.

Children suffering during the summer! Old people stumbling over ditches for pipes that the company has set up across the entrances and houses of the village. To compound the hypocrisy of the project's officials and its failing company, they have brought quantities of pipes and spread them out in the middle of the village and along the road to al-Hawamid and al-Majabirah, to neutralize the anger of the people—a silly trick implying that the project is about to be completed!

In addition, a group of company workmen small enough to be counted on the fingers of one hand were assigned to dig pipe trenches in the village at 2 pm on hot summer days. It is truly a record full of surprises and amazing things—a little of everything: some pipes installed, others at the mercy of nature! Helpless workers in pitiable confusion from need, because the company is confronted by a big financial situation like a thing that squats unmoving at project headquarters like a camel that has bitten its withers from the bitterness of the tragedies of the project!

Old stones for the pumping station groan softly, apologizing for the song, "O, what friends these are that left me alone!"

An unfinished underground tank brings tears to the eye through its upright iron bars. It, too, seems to be complaining, "Spare me this company!"

Pipes thrown on the ground, waiting the time when they will be buried. No one was left at project headquarters at the time this report was being prepared except the guard—a mother dog and her seven puppies. At first they would stop you with barking; in the end they would greet you, hunger and thirst plainly and sadly visible on their emaciated bodies.

From the comments of some engineers about the progress of work on the project, we summarize the result in two important points: 1. Lack of qualified technicians able to implement the project, and 2. Existence of money problems between the German Maas Industrie company and the Afrocarbon company.

A completion rate of 20 percent! Let us ask again:

For what offense do the citizens deserve an absence of technicians able to implement the project?

What do the citizens have to do with the existence of money problems between the two companies?

Citizens worry about getting daily drops of water and want some way that will successfully save them from the sickness of the implementing companies.

Citizens are justified, if they sometimes behave irrationally and unobjectively against those who destroy their real and necessary requirements for life.

The problem cannot be endured! Water is a means of life; life means existence; existence means survival or the opposite. The officials of this project must correct the project's course.

Uncovering the facts is something important and practical for the course of the revolution, so that we can lay an expert hand on the actual cause and give first aid before the disease gets out of control.

In order to uncover the facts and not indulge in personal flattery in matters that pertain to the people, last year the state of the project was photographed on the program "Jamahiriyah Varieties" in the municipality of al-Niqat al-Khams, in the segment "Who Do You Ask?" which focuses on following up projects that are behind schedule. However, the results of the interview the program's director conducted with a group of citizens at al-Hawamid were hidden and did not appear on the television screen.

I firmly believe that the relationship of the municipality's information secretary with his colleague, the secretary of utilities, was what prevented the showing of something like the Kabaw cattle station project, which was broadcast in a segment.

We therefore hope that a revolutionary imprint will be placed on this vital project, so as to serve the citizen, who is the true beneficiary of the revolution.

OMAN

Nation's Progress in Oil, Mineral Development Cited

44040154a Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 18 Nov 88 p 11

[Article: "Oil and Minerals, and Great Progress in Discovery and Development in All Branches of Energy This Year"]

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals has worked perseveringly to exert the most abundant, generous efforts on behalf of acquiring, developing, and enhancing energy sources in the Sultanate, which are some of the most important natural resources the country depends upon in financing development plans and projects and in providing a better living standard for citizens in our beloved nation. [passage omitted]

Oil Output

Oil output reached a record figure during the year, the level of 600,000 barrels a day. One should bear in mind that the level of output 10 years ago came to half this quantity. In response to the wise policy of the Sultanate's government, oil production dropped twice, reaching the level of 50,000 barrels a day this year to support the efforts OPEC is exerting to restore stability to oil markets and prices. There is no doubt that OPEC's efforts in this area are great and well known. The refinery in Mina' al-Fahal is refining about 50,000 barrels a day of total current production, which comes to 600,000 barrels a day.

Thus the quantity of oil exported by the Sultanate of Oman comes to 550,000 barrels a day. Although the Sultanate of Oman is not a member of OPEC, it supports this organization's efforts out of its belief that OPEC's efforts to restore order and stability to the oil market merit support on the part of all oil-producing countries, members in the organization or not.

Furthermore, oil reserves in the Sultanate came to 4.1 billion barrels on 1 January 1988, in comparison with 2.5 billion in 1981. Since the discoveries are ongoing, it is expected that during the next 3 years the Sultanate's output will come to 650,000 barrels a day. The increase in oil reserves at a high rate during the abovementioned period establishes this. We must thank the praiseworthy Lord for this abundant bounty which will remain for decades so that coming generations in our beloved nation may benefit from it as the present and current generations have.

Discoveries

Exploratory efforts in various areas of the Sultanate were pursued as were study and analysis of geological and geophysical data concerning a large number of geological formations. The results of exploratory and confirmation drilling were evaluated, and the various stages of exploration activities which the work programs had approved were discussed with the operating companies in a detailed manner. All the scientific and technological reports bearing on the technical discovery methods and suitable means of using them in the kingdom were studied and analyzed, and the stipulated programs were carried out. In general, the advancements in oil development in the Sultanate were extremely satisfactory and promise great benefits.

Natural Gas

A celebration was organized in May of this year marking the passage of 10 years since the establishment of the government gas system. The system was constructed in May 1978. There is no doubt that this system has met with tremendous success during this short period.

The al-Ghubrah electric power generating plant belonging to the Ministry of Electricity and Water is the first project to be supplied with government gas via a gas pipeline fed by two gas-producing wells in the Jibal area (the west of the Sultanate). The rate of gas consumption during 1987 came to about 680,000 cubic meters a day (24 million cubic feet a day).

With a penetrating, close look at the expansion and scope the government gas system has attained in terms of volume of production, we find that at present the quantity of gas has exceeded the original volume of production seven times over. Moreover, gas is currently being supplied to seven major consumers and 10 various areas in the Sultanate. The gas covers these consumers' needs for gas, which is used for various purposes, including:

- The use of gas in the al-Ghubrah electricity and desalination plant.
- The smelting of copper in the copper mill belonging to the Oman Mining Company in Sihar.
- Cooking and fuel in Sultan Qabus University.

This is in addition to the primary use of the gas, to produce electric power in Muscat and vicinity. In addition to this, gas is used in crude oil production operations.

Gas Consumption

The peak of gas consumption this year was reached last June when gas consumption reached the level of 6.2 million cubic meters a day (218 million cubic feet a day). This was a 7 percent increase relative to 1987, and 14 percent relative to 1986.

Another thing one must not ignore is that the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals is proceeding apace to establish more gas plants and expand them in accordance with the contents of the development program in the current 5-year plan.

The Use of Gas in Industry

During the summer of 1988, the Sultanate managed to make splendid, rapid strides in the use of gas in industrial areas for the first time after the gas distribution plant had been constructed in the al-Rusayl industrial area for the purpose of supplying plants with their gas requirements. The first plant to begin using the gas was the Urij vegetable oil producing plant, followed by the textile mill.

The process of supplying gas in the industrial area will help these factories reduce their production costs in view of the high price of diesel fuel, and in addition it will facilitate operating activities.

Expansion of the Government Gas System

The Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals is trying to continue to develop and expand the facilities and utilities connected with the government gas system since it is now in its fourth phase of life.

This phase includes the expansion of the productive capacity of the government gas distribution system, 180 kilometers of 36-inch gas pipeline are now being laid between the Jibal and Izki areas. It will be connected in the Izki area to pipelines with the same capacity 120 kilometers in length which had previously been installed and completed in 1986 between Izki and Murayrat.

Moreover, these installation activities will end in the second half of 1989. This stage also includes the drilling of five wells which contain free gas, the construction of another gas plant in al-Ghubrah belonging to the Ministry of Electricity and Water, and the expansion of the Wadi al-Jizy gas plant in the copper plant in Sihar and other stations in order to meet these regions' natural gas needs.

Gas Reserves

In the middle of 1984, the government set up a special gas program to locate additional quantities of gas. As a result of these efforts, the Oman Petroleum Development Company managed to discover 910 billion cubic feet of gas in the first 3 years of the execution of this program. Herewith are the total reserves of associated and unassociated gas as of 1 January 1988:

- 2.7 trillion cubic feet of associated gas.
- 6.73 trillion cubic feet of unassociated gas.
- 9.33 trillion [as published] cubic feet of associated and unassociated gas.

The Refinery

Proceeding from the principle of self-reliance, especially during difficult circumstances such as those which prevailed in the Gulf area during the war, and out of the belief that the integration of the oil industry is to be considered one of the goals of the national economy in the Sultanate, the Oman oil refinery was erected in the Mina' al-Fahal area to support the natural resources in the country. With God's help, the sole refinery in the kingdom was opened in November 1982, and crude oil refining operations began at a capacity of 34,000 barrels a day. Refining capacity then rose gradually to 50,000 barrels a day. The costs of constructing the refinery came to about 42 million Omani riyals.

In view of the anticipated increase in demand for the purchase of refined oil products in the period up to the year 2000, the ministry expanded refining capacity in the refinery at a cost of 7.6 million Omani riyals. The Japanese company Mitsui was assigned to carry out the project of expanding the refinery's capacity.

It is worth pointing out here that Mitsui is the company which built the refinery terminal. The process of expanding the refinery's capacity was completed in July last year; thus its refining capacity rose to 80,000 barrels a day whereas it had been 50,000. With the construction of the Mina' al-Fahal refinery, the Sultanate was capable of the following:

- Replacing imports with oil products refined locally, helping save foreign hard currency for use in other projects to support the level of development and carry out the other development projects the country needs.
- Guaranteeing flexibility in meeting local refined oil products consumption.
- Providing job opportunities for a large number of Omani citizens as well as giving them an opportunity for training and acquiring expertise for a modern technical industry in the Sultanate.

On the other hand, the refining industry constitutes the base and the block which will help the establishment of petrochemical industries in the future when economic feasibility studies reach positive conclusions on the establishment of an industry of this sort in the Sultanate. The refinery department this year expanded the training center at the refinery. This work was completed in September.

In another area, the refinery has gone through 5 years without the occurrence of any incidents which might cause the suspension of work and loss of time, and this is considered a record achievement in comparison with other refineries.

This year the project to generate electricity by using gas instead of burning it began, and this project will be carried out at the end of next year or at the beginning of 1990.

This year the refinery began carrying out a project to make use of hydrocarbons which are currently going into the gas, and the execution of this project will be completed in 1989 for the sake of improving the profitability of the refinery and its financial status by improving the type of hydrocarbon and converting it to high-priced petroleum products.

The Copper Project

The Oman Mining Company supervises the copper project in the Sihar area, which was established on the premise of the policy of diversifying sources of income and the Omani economy.

We should not miss the chance here to point out that the ancient history of the Sultanate of Oman is replete with such mining industries; the Sultanate was famous from the dawn of history for the extraction and smelting of copper ores and using them in some industries such as vessels used in homes. Some scholars of history say that Oman exported copper to Mesopotamia 2000 years before the birth of Christ.

After His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id assumed the reins of power in the country in 1970, he gave a directive on the establishment of a plant to produce copper, to revive the industry of grandfathers and forebears. The early sign of these efforts was that the Sultanate was exporting refined copper in mid-1983.

It is expected that the year 1988 will see another record figure, exceeding last year's. That applies to production, sales, and gross revenues. Herewith are the anticipated figures:

- Total copper production: 16,200 metric tons.
- Total copper sales: 16,000 metric tons.
- Total revenues: 13 million Omani riyals.

In addition the Oman Mining Company exported copper this year to Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Britain. This is the fifth year of production in the Sihar copper project, which produces small quantities of gold and silver present in the copper ore.

In another area, the management of the Oman Mining Company is concerned with improving and developing human resources and training Omanis in particular to occupy positions which foreigners are occupying in the project.

The Minerals Sector

The Department of Minerals continued carrying out its projects and performing various geological and drilling activities during the year through geologists working in it or companies the department supervises which are operating in the country on assignment from the ministry. These activities and projects on which work took place last year include:

- The Hayl al-Safil and al-Raki Project.

- The technical cooperation protocol with the Japanese Government was signed last June. By means of it, the Japanese Government will offer financial and technical support to study the economic feasibility of the two sites of Hayl al-Safil and al-Raki, where the ore reserves are estimated at about 4 million tons of copper.
- One thing worth pointing out is that the Department of Mines developed the al-Safil area during the past season by performing structural test drilling in this region. A total of 3,100 meters of structural test drilling took place and by means of this it was possible to ascertain the magnitude of the body of the ore (the average magnitude). The ore reserves in Hayl al-Safil alone have been estimated at about 2 million tons of copper, in addition to the 2 million tons discovered during the second 5-year plan in the al-Raki area, which is about 4 kilometers distant from the Hayl al-Safil area.
- The two sites of Hayl al-Safil and al-Raki may help provide copper ore for the copper project in Sihar.

The Chrome Project

Chrome is a ferrous metal and assumes second place in the Sultanate in terms of importance after copper. Chrome ore is present in two main areas in the northern Oman mountains; these are:

1. The Maqsad area in the southern part of the north Oman mountains.
2. The Wadi Rajmi area in the northern part of the north Oman mountains.

Geological and drilling activities have been carried out in both areas in past years.

In the last field season, 1987-88, a drilling program was carried out at the chrome ore sites in the Wadi Rajmi area. During it, a study of these areas was carried out in a detailed manner, performed by the French geologic and mineral research office which had carried out similar activities in the Maqsad area in the 1985-86 field season on assignment from the ministry and under the supervision of the Department of Minerals.

This study encompassed ore qualities and quantities, a market study, and other geologic and laboratory studies.

To increase reserves in one area, Wadi Rajmi, a drilling program is required. This has encouraged the department to prepare a program for a new drilling and evaluation program in the adjacent areas ancillary to Wadi Rajmi. This project is called the Rajmi-Farah and Farfar-al-Hallati project and will be carried out over the next 2 years.

The Coal Project

In the past field season, the Department of Minerals brought a consultant to study and evaluate coal sites in Wadi Maswa and Wadi Faysaw in al-Kamil and al-Wafi Province. Previous studies had established the presence of coal, and its reserves were initially estimated at about 36 million tons.

This consultant studied previous activities, visited the coal site, and after this study recommended the performance of a drilling program, including geological and geophysical activities and drilling structural test shafts totalling about 3,600 meters to confirm the extensions of coal in the area.

The first shaft, which extended to a depth of 394 meters, was completed last August. The coal there is present at various depths at a thickness of 7.9 meters. However, the greatest thickness in this shaft, which is estimated at 40 meters, was found at a depth of 379.3 meters. Work started on the second shaft in August, and it is continuing.

After conclusion of the drilling process, all the information derived from these two shafts will be studied, and in the light of that it will be decided whether or not to continue the drilling, in addition to execution of the other recommendations the consultant made.

Industrial Minerals

These include limestone, gypsum, asbestos, marble, dolomite, silica, quartz, quartzite, and sandstone in addition to other minerals.

The department is now preparing a program to study and evaluate these minerals in terms of quality and quantity. One should bear in mind that the private sector works with industrial minerals, and consequently the study of them will determine the areas and minerals which the private sector will exploit.

Training

Out of concern on the ministry's part to pursue scientific development, it is sending Omani geologists abroad on training courses in the field of mineral ore drilling and evaluation.

Geological Surveying, Geological Mapping, and Mineral Exploration

The ministry's geologists have continued to carry out geological mapping and mineral drilling activities in Ibra and Dank during this period, and we hope that these survey activities will continue during the next field season and perhaps the season following it.

Geological mapping depends on travel by foot, mountain climbing, and the traversing of waterways for acquisition of the necessary information related to the various

types of rocks of which geological formations are composed in addition to the taking of measurements related to the thickness of these rocks, trends in the formations, their slip and strike, and formation elements they contain such as faults, cracks, and folds.

The most important goals of the Mineral Survey Department include covering all areas of the Sultanate with a geologic survey and mineral exploration and preparing the necessary maps at appropriate design scales owing to the importance of these maps, not just with respect to petroleum and minerals but also in numerous other areas, including soil, agriculture, water, and all massive civil installations such as bridges and roads.

Participation in Research Projects and International Symposia

A delegation from the ministry took part in two research projects related to the Indian Ocean. The first of these was the West German meteor project, the purpose in which was to determine the relationship between weather factors in general and seasonal winds in particular and marine sediments. If it is clear that there is a fixed relationship, it will be possible to deduce cases of weather and weather variations through the study and analysis of these sediments relative to previous geological eras. The second of these is the (geoides) resolution project, the American research vessel which is carrying out deep drilling activities with the objective of studying the surface ocean layer. The research has dealt with the study of what are known as the Owens Heights, situated in the Arabian Sea close to the Omani coast, where eight wells have been drilled. It is worth pointing out that this information is of great importance in understanding the geology of the Omani mainland, especially since the study includes the interconnection between the sediments and Omani rocks in the areas adjacent to the Arabian Sea. A symposium was held in Texas to discuss and compare the results of this research; a delegate from the Geological Survey Department took part and presented a study on the samples he had collected during the department's participation in this project.

The ministry took part in three international symposia in the course of this year. The first was in Edinburgh and its geological subject was the mountains of Oman; during it, the most up-to-date information related to this subject was presented and subjected to thorough discussion. The second was in Doha (Qatar), in the course of which ways and means of using satellites in geological mapping and mineral exploration activities were studied. The third was in Karachi, Pakistan; in it, the research dealt with the subject of exploration for minerals and petroleum on the Indian Ocean floor and the creation of suitable means for carrying out joint projects in which all countries bordering the Indian Ocean would participate, and which the specialized organizations in the United Nations and other institutes would organize.

Modernization of Armed Forces Surveyed in Detail
44040154b Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 18 Nov 88 p 2

[Article: "His Majesty the Supreme Commander Concentrates on Quality, Not Quantity: Great Development in the Sultan's Armed Forces in the 18 Years of Life of the Forward March"]

[Text] The basic mission of armies in any country of the world is confined, in the first place, to providing adequate protection for the nation and defense of the citizens' security, interests, and psychological stability so they can devote themselves wholly to production, construction, and development and consequently to innovation in its broadest sense.

If we cast a penetrating glance at the actual state of the sultan's armed forces today, we will perceive the immensity of the achievements that have been realized on their behalf during the triumphal forward march toward the construction of an intrinsic strength capable of implanting the foundations of security and confidence in people's spirits and protecting the achievements of the blessed resurgence.

What has been achieved has not been a haphazard matter. Rather, it has relied on truthful determination and sincere intent in work and on a firm belief, gracious values and affiliation with the deep-rooted nature of the historic origins of civilization of this glorious country, so that the Oman of today has begun to regain the glory of its powers and assume its rightful place.

Stages of Development of the Sultan's Armed Forces

The features of the picture manifest themselves wholly and clearly through the actual state of the modern resurgence today, which embodies the credibility and seriousness of the work aimed at giving concrete form to people's aspirations. Many people who experienced the country's circumstances before 1970 and the state of stagnation and backwardness it was suffering from at that time realize how great the difference is between the backwardness and stagnation it was in and the progress and prosperity which have become its destiny. When we witness this difference in the magnitude of the Armed Forces today and their broad development, which has comprised various classes and areas of specifications, and, in addition to the units which had been formed before the dawn of the upsurge, which were very limited, new units which have been formed and have assumed their natural magnitude with the steps of the march forward, the completion of the picture occurring within the plan to form modern trained armed forces which would assume on their shoulders the responsibilities of defending the nation and protecting its achievements and heritage—this picture of the sultan's Armed Forces today, which are embodied in the land, sea and air forces and the other support units, is different from their picture yesterday in quality and quantity when compared with their magnitude and armament at the start of

the seventies and even in the initial years of the resurgence. In spite of the harsh circumstances we have referred to, the manifestations of modernization began to stand out in a clear form in the Armed Forces in terms of materiel and arms procurement, thanks to Almighty Glorious God and the efforts of the supreme commander (may God preserve him), his firm belief in God and his wisdom, courage, and firm determination which have not slackened before the immensity of events.

The Land Forces of the Sultan of Oman

With the dawning of the blessed resurgence in 1970, through the lofty directives of his majesty the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, a great development occurred in the land forces of the Sultan of Oman through carefully studied stages of development which had been planned for in accordance with a specific schedule and a number of units, battalions, and support and medical service units were formed which have reached an advanced level in the sultan's Armed Forces as they offer their services to the men of the Armed Forces and their families at high levels in terms of the expertise and equipment available in the medical area. Development in the land forces of the Sultanate of Oman is proceeding in rapid steps through proper study.

Concomitant with the lofty directives of his majesty the supreme commander, the land forces of the Sultanate of Oman have become capable of defending this beloved nation's soil and preserving the achievements which have been realized with full competence in cooperation with the other forces. If we look at the schools that exist in the land forces of the Sultanate of Oman and which accredit the Omani soldier, we will see the training battalion of the sultan's Armed Forces, Sultan Qabus Military College, and the Officers' Training School in addition to the Command and Staff College, which is considered the most advance military educational structure in Oman.

If we look at the level of the soldier in the land forces of the Sultanate of Oman, we will find that his level is advanced. He has mastered the weapons with which he has been supplied as a result of involvement in many maneuvers in the context of the force itself or in the context of the forces. The greatest of these were the "Thunder" maneuvers held in 1985, the "New Force" maneuvers in 1982, then the "Peninsula Armor" maneuvers, the last of which was the third exercise held on the land of the Sultanate with the participation of the Council countries. The sultan's Armed Forces entered into a maneuver with friendly countries such as the United Kingdom in 1987, by means of the "Swift Sword" maneuvers.

The Air Force of the Sultanate of Oman

With respect to the Air Force of the Sultanate of Oman, it has been developed extensively to offer integrated support to combat forces in military operations. On this

basis, it has been supplied with advanced fighter planes such as Jaguar and Tornado aircraft, an agreement for whose purchase was signed toward the end of last year.

In addition an integrated air defense system has been established, consisting of modern missiles equipped with the most up to date means of service and contact to continue working constantly with the best modern means and methods. Schools have been established, such as the School of the Sultan's Armed Forces, the Technical Institute, and the Sultan Qabus Air Academy, which serves the combined purposes of the force in accrediting the necessary technically competent persons in the various segments of this vital force in the form of craftsmen, administrators, and pilots.

The Air Force of the Sultanate of Oman has become the eye vigilantly watching over the skies of the Sultanate with a high degree of permanent readiness and an ongoing cover as a combat force ceaselessly engaged in protecting the nation's skies and providing assured circumstances of security for the citizens in full cooperation with the land forces of the Sultanate of Oman and the Sultanate of Oman's Navy.

The Sultanate of Oman's Navy

In view of Oman's naval past in history and its geographic location, which occupies a long stretch along the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Gulf, a start was made in developing the Omani naval force in accordance with lofty directives in a manner which would realize its basic objective, which is protection of the Omani coasts and regional waters which extend a distance of 1,700 kms from the north to the south of the country; would guarantee shipping in one of the most important naval passageways in the world, the Strait of Hormoz, which constitutes the bottleneck with respect to energy in the world since it supplies the world with oil at a rate of no less than 70 percent of the requirements for the continuation of world industries in an ongoing, existing manner; and would offer the necessary aid to passing ships in all circumstances. For these combined purposes, the Sultanate's naval force was formed with modern missile ships; landing, supply, and approvisionment vessels; and rapid war patrol boats outfitted with effective weapons which would ensure their performance of their duties in the best manner.

The Sultanate of Oman's Navy is still advancing daily as are the other branches of the Armed Forces.

A number of modern naval bases have been established, the most recent of which is the Widam Naval Base, to guarantee the provision of the requisite maintenance and necessary support and approvisionment for the fleet in an effective, permanent manner.

The Sultanate's Armed Forces and Development

In spite of all this broad activity as part of the process of modernizing the sultan's Armed Forces and developing them in a suitable modern form, the Armed Forces, in execution of the lofty orders of his great majesty the sultan, have made a great effort in backing up the development process. In spite of their assumption of their basic responsibilities of defending the nation and protecting its achievements, they have also managed to be effective and influential in the context of building, reconstruction, and social development. By way of example, but not exclusively, it is possible to point to the massive road projects the Ministry of Defense has built through specialized units in many remote areas of the Sultanate in the course of which the three forces have participated in moving the materials and equipment required for work in these massive projects, searched for missing persons, and participated in the struggle against sea pollution.

They have also participated in maintaining aqueducts and have offered their services in transporting foodstuffs and supplies to citizens in remote areas and transporting the citizens themselves to cities to receive medical care in their hospitals. The sultan's armed forces through the General Moral Guidance and Public Relations and Military Social Services Departments are also offering great care for the children and families of their men who have died in battle.

The Islamic Creed Is the Basis of Combat Doctrine

In the realm of implanting the tolerant religious creed in the spirits of the members of the sultan's Armed Forces, his majesty the sultan's directives and lofty orders have underlined the need for adherence to the principles of the pure Islamic religion, attention to its provisions, and their implantation in people's spirits.

In this area, the General Moral Guidance and Public Relations Department is playing a large, pioneering role in putting religious culture in general application in the military units by reviving important religious occasions, giving religious lectures in an ongoing manner, organizing festivals in seasons in the military units, backing them up with guides and lecturers and distributing religious and historic books and publications.

The lofty generosity of the sultan in sending the Armed Forces' military pilgrimage delegation annually, at his majesty's expense, has had the greatest effect on the spirits of the officers and soldiers and in raising morale among them, implanting in their spirits the principle of self-sacrifice for the sake of God, the nation, and the sultan.

Textile Industry Celebrates Inauguration of Massive Mill
44040154c Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by 'Abdallah Hasan: "In the Context of the Country's Celebrations of the Glorious 18th National Day: Mr Thuwayni Inaugurates the Largest Textile Mill, First of Its Kind in the Cooperation Council Countries"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Beginning of the Celebration

The celebration began with verses from the holy Koran. Then His Excellency Dr 'Umar Ibn 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Zawawi, chairman of the board of the Oman Textile Company, made a statement in which he welcomed the people in attendance and said, "In the midst of our celebration of the glorious 18th National Day, I am happy to welcome His Highness Thuwayni Ibn Shihab, the special representative of His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id, the members of the glorious royal family, their excellencies, gentlemen, and all our honored guests.

"Our beloved Oman has been familiar since ancient times with the textile industry through the traditional methods, and it has a history and a presence in this regard. This is indeed a great day that we are celebrating today with the inauguration of the first Omani textile mill, which is the first of its kind in the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council and is considered one of the most modern textile mills in the world, since it has been equipped with the most modern Swiss Sulzer machines of worldwide fame in the area of the textile industry.

"It is worth pointing out that the Sultanate of Oman is the first country to use these machines with the exception of one factory in West Berlin, which uses just four spindles, as compared with the 48 the Oman Textile Company uses."

His excellency said, "It is a source of pride for us all to see the industrial resurgence which has begun in Oman. As we all know, any industrial resurgence must include, at its outset, the textile industry, as happened in England, India, and Egypt, for example, underlining the soundness of the course of our blessed resurgence His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id the Great has charted, and it honors and gladdens us to be the instrument for carrying out his majesty's upright, blessed directives. May God support his majesty with his victory.

"This resurgence has realized for the Omani citizen his basic needs in food and housing, and here today it is realizing for him his basic needs in clothing."

8.1 Million Riyals

His excellency continued, "The total cost of this mill came to 8.1 million Omani riyals. Omani citizens participated by paying the capital, which comes to 3 million

Omani riyals, in full, and his majesty's government was so kind as to offer an easy loan whose value came to 3 million Omani riyals, in addition to a loan of 1.5 million Omani riyals from the Oman Development Bank.

"This great work was accomplished in record time, since the contract to construct the project was signed with the al-Qaram Contractors Company on 22 November 1987 and the charter general assembly met on 18 January 1988. Eight months later, test production went into gear on 18 September 1988, producing textiles of a distinctive quality which are in no case lower in their quality than the best of what the world's mills produce.

"It is worth mentioning that the mill's current productive capacity is 7.1 million meters [figure as published] a year of the best types of cloth woven from artificial or natural fiber—cotton, wool, or silk—as well as cloth mixed in varying ratios."

Training Center

His excellency said, "Out of our concern to create and develop specialized Omani personnel, a training center has been established, annexed to the mill, to train Omani youths in the textile industry, the industry whose deep roots were implanted in this good land a long time ago. This center will provide training in the most modern textile industry machines in the world and training in the operations of dying, bleaching, and preparing special drawings in designs. The training halls have been supplied with modern spindles and advanced equipment corresponding to that which will be used after completion of the training period.

"I seize this opportunity to offer abundant thanks to everyone who contributed to the execution of this project, and I give special thanks to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, headed by His Excellency Salim Ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali, who gets the credit, following the directives of His Majesty Sultan Qabus the Great, for carrying out this project, and also all the people working in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the al-Rusayl industrial board, the Jersey Company, the al-Qaram Contractors Company, and all the companies which took part in completing this splendid job.

"In conclusion, I am honored in your name to present to the lofty person of His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id the Great the loftiest expressions of thanks and spirituality for his majesty's encouragement of national industries, encouragement which has been a basic element in this mill's emergence into existence. May God preserve the commander and guide his steps along the road to glory and welfare!"

The Official Inauguration

After that, His Highness Thuwayni Ibn Shihab, His Majesty Qabus' special representative, removed the curtain from the mill's memorial plaque. His highness then cut the ribbon, permitting the mill to be opened officially.

His Excellency Dr 'Umar Ibn 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Zawawi, chairman of the board of the Oman Textile Company, accompanied His Highness Thuwayni Ibn Shihab and their highnesses, their excellencies, and the senior guests on a tour within the various sections of the plant where in actual conditions they witnessed the various stages of production within the mill, textile operations with various types of cloth, and the various stages of production the cloth weaving processes pass through. They also witnessed examples of the mills' production and the modern equipment with which the mill has been supplied.

All the people in attendance expressed their amazement at the splendid level of the mill and its modern equipment and production of various types of cloth. [passage omitted]

His excellency said, "The mill will greatly affect execution of the policy of attainment of self-sufficiency in cloth rather than importing it from abroad, in addition to employing domestic manpower and giving a job opportunity to Omanis, which will be influential in supporting industrial resources in the country."

Statement by Al-Ghazali

His Excellency Salim Ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali, minister of commerce and industry, also stated that the mill is considered a wise and bold step in the direction of the Sultanate's self-reliance, and its construction comes as a result of His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id the Great's concern and directives to provide all wherewithal for the Omani citizen in the form of clothing.

His excellency continued, "This mill, in its magnitude and investment, is to be considered one of the great factories which have been erected so far in the Sultanate, and the technological equipment it uses is considered among the most modern that technology in the world has known so far. This means that the Sultanate still has and will continue to exercise the principle on which it has proceeded, which is to start where others have ended up."

His excellency the minister of commerce and industry said, "Another of the advantages of this plant is that since its inauguration it has started to provide a good center for training to realize the great goal of his majesty the sultan, which is to provide jobs and Omani citizens' performance of their role and duty in the industrial sector. It also comes as a consummation of the attainment of the principle of self-reliance, and we hope that all plants in the future will follow such steps as these." [passage omitted]

SUDAN

NIF Secretary Muhammad Discusses Political, Economic Situations

45040143 Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic
16, 19 Nov 88

[Interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, National Islamic Front secretary of political affairs and minister of domestic trade, cooperatives and supply, by Muhammad Taha Muhammad Ahmad, al-Mutayyib, and Salih Muhammad 'Ali; date and place of interview not specified]

[16 Nov 88 pp 4-5]

[Excerpts] This interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, the National Islamic Front's [NIF] secretary of political affairs and minister of domestic trade, cooperatives and supply, is one in a series of political interviews we are conducting with NIF leaders as well as leaders of other parties for the purpose of evaluating the political performance and the experience of the existing unity government. In this interview, Dr Muhammad answers questions and responds to public opinion inquiry with his usual candor. In our interview with him, we talked about evaluating the NIF's experience in government, particularly the NIF's representation in central government organizations and in the government of the south. In addition, we talked about the performance of the front's ministries and how NIF leaders deal with their allies in government. In the course of the interview Dr 'Ali al-Hajj spoke about the performance of the Ministry of Domestic Trade, Cooperatives and Supply, and he touched upon the obstacles facing the ministry's policies, whose aim is to fight smuggling and the black market and ensure the fair distribution of goods to all citizens in the country. Because the interview is a lengthy one, we are publishing the first part of it today. The rest of the interview will be published in a second installment that will include much that will also be provocative. Let's go to the text of the interview.

[AL-RAYAH] Citizens who make up the general membership of the NIF and citizens in the political mainstream in general believe that, although the NIF may not have failed to implement its programs, it did fail to carry out many of its goals. It seems that the front, which was portrayed as a problem solver with a radical and revolutionary approach, was more optimistic than it should have been when in fact, as many people can see, it failed to realize what it had hoped to accomplish. This is the central question around which we will conduct this interview, which is one in a series of related interviews we will conduct with NIF leaders. How would you comment on that?

[Muhammad] I will answer your questions without any reservations, except for those which have to do with unity, even though I believe that the word itself has no place in the political jargon of a democracy. This is

because in a democracy candidates from different parties compete in electoral districts. One of them wins, and the others lose. How would unity fit here? Candidates running for office set forth specific programs and clear directions. For example, they will either support the canonical laws of Islam and abide by them, or they will reject and oppose them. That is why I believe the acquired political implication of the word "unity" goes beyond democracy itself. If the word is construed to mean an agreement over everything among all parties, unity would mean that everyone will be giving up something. What is finally agreed upon then will not express anyone's opinion. That is why no one will be enthusiastic about implementing such an agreement. And that is why clarification of what is meant by unity in a democracy is the first requirement.

[AL-RAYAH] But it is known that political parties which are involved in the unification chose people who are compatible with each other for government positions. Even members of the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP], who are now the troublesome or petulant bunch in government, chose people like Dr Abu-Salih, Dr 'Abd-al-Malak al-Ja'li, and Mr Hasan Shabu who are more compatible with the NIF. Although differences of opinion may be the basis for a democracy, can the unity government's minimal agreement program derive much benefit from this compatibility among those who are in power?

[Muhammad] It is true, and I still believe that members of the present unity government are more compatible with each other than members of the previous coalition governments were. I believe that the DUP must be looked at as a model and a political phenomenon that will remain unchanged whether it is in or outside government. It is known that segments of that party have nothing in common. This is a result of the fact that the party has not yet been fully developed in the accepted sense of the term. Political parties are usually brought into existence by convening a conference and by electing and appointing leaders and staff to different positions at different levels. All this is done according to principles and programs. One of the problems of the DUP is that to date it has not been developed, and that is why each one of the party's different segments claims that it can make decisions and do what it pleases.

Strength and Weakness Factors in the DUP

[AL-RAYAH] And yet some people think that the DUP has gained much from its present position, which allows more freedom of movement within the party. For example, one finds Mr Muhammad Ziyadah, Mr Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn and others speaking quite freely on behalf of the party. Differences within the party can thus be contained when they are aired, and that is something which other parties do not allow. The official spokesman for the NIF, for example, is the political secretary, the secretary general or the deputy secretary general. These people serve as spokesmen on specific matters, and their

political statements are for the most part identical. There are others in the front, however, whose opinions are not expressed and are not declared to the public because of organizational discipline. It is for this reason that the DUP has maintained a reasonable measure of cohesiveness within its ranks even though it is not a party in the accepted sense of the term. It is because of this freedom that the party was able to gain popularity, even though it does not have a program and has not convened a conference.

[Muhammad] The present situation of the DUP may be a source of strength for the party in the short term. In the long term, however, it is certainly a destructive factor and a source of weakness. Any party must have the ability to arrive at opinions that all its members can agree on and abide by. For example, if a party elects a government, that government must have that party's support and backing. The DUP's situation may be due to the fact that democracy was established in the country only a short time ago. It may also be due to the fact that the party wants to rally its members because the reorganization it needs is not something that can happen on a whim or because one wants it to happen. That is why party officials in leadership positions have now decided to take more time for this matter. But that situation, of course, cannot continue. If it did, the party will undoubtedly cease to exist.

The DUP now believes that anyone who is not a member of the NIF, the Ummah Party or leftist parties is a member of the DUP. This negative definition of the party's membership became evident when the party nominated a few people to serve in certain positions. Those people had nothing to do with the party. It was noticed that such nominations were made by members of the DUP on the basis of those members' personal views, which had nothing to do with the party. In some cases the party opposed the nominations. At any rate, until the party completes the task of rallying its members, the present situation might be advantageous in the short term, but in the long term it will most certainly not serve the party's interests.

The Canonical Laws of Islam and Unification Problems

[AL-RAYAH] It is known that unification brought some problems to a head inside parties. The front's problems, of course, did not surface, but in the Ummah Party, for example, those who had been alienated by the unification assumed a hostile posture toward their party and the president of their party. They may have also been hostile even to the party's policies. Someone like Bakri 'Adil, for example, went so far as to try to have a meeting alone with John Garang. These are normal phenomena anyway, but we are wondering why it is that such postures and practices do not appear in the ranks of the NIF?

[Muhammad] As far as unification is concerned, the largest central issue is that of Islamic law. It is a major issue, and the fact that other parties approve of it has

silenced those within the NIF who oppose the unification. Since every front member and leader has an opinion which has some bearing on the question of Islamic law, progress on that question in the front has led many people to turn away from those opinions, whatever they were. The NIF thus has a gauge which it uses as an indicator and a measuring device. It is known, of course, that the front is a disciplined, democratic and advisory party. More importantly, however, the question of Islamic law and that of making progress on that question, regardless of the differences, serve as a unifying factor within the front. Therefore, although we talked about a period of time limited to 2 months, members of the front felt that progress was being made when the General Advisory Authority met recently. It was the first time in Sudan after the uprising that new laws derived from the canonical laws of Islam were being drafted in earnest. These laws were translated into English, and they were debated in the Council of Ministers. From there, they were sent to the Constituent Assembly where they were debated by the people's representatives during their first and second readings.

All these developments made any member of the front feel, regardless of what he thought about the government's performance and other matters, that progress had been made. But for the members and leaders of other parties whose support for the canonical laws of Islam, regardless of the problems, was just as strong as the front's, Islamic law became the standard which obligated them to support the government. However, those who originally opposed the unification, which was established on the basis of the canonical laws of Islam, felt more hurt and became more angry. They also felt that the existing unification had a better chance for stability and permanence. At any rate, what you call the ailments of unification are basically the result of progress on the question of Islamic law and continued support for the government from those whose support for the government is based exclusively on that perspective. Those people do not care much about other problems. That is why postponing and delaying the application of Islamic law will cost the government much of the popular support it now enjoys.

The Front and the Government: Strength and Weakness Factors

[AL-RAYAH] If progress on the question of Islamic law silenced those in the front who oppose the unification, even though some of those people opposed the unification on principle, other political parties which are participating in government also tried to take advantage of this situation.[passage omitted] How will you deal with matters from this perspective?

[Muhammad] We are dealing with such problems by talking with the prime minister in his capacity as the officer in charge of executing the agreement. This is because the agreement had already been made: it was signed, sealed, and delivered. Nothing was left but to

carry it out, and that falls under the jurisdiction of the prime minister; it is one of his responsibilities. It is also known, of course, that the prime minister has the same problems that other parties have. As a result, he is exposed to many difficulties.[passage omitted] [AL-RAYAH] But didn't the NIF make a mistake when it agreed to delay the implementation of the agreement which dealt with forming government organizations? This is the question: why did the front agree to participate in government and why did it continue in government even though the agreement was not being implemented? It is known that Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi was facing a political crisis after he made the statement in which he asked for a mandate. The front could have applied pressure in that situation to ensure that all the constitutional agencies of the unity government would be brought forth intact and in full instead of piecemeal as has been and is now the case. It seems that leaders of the NIF have relied on their confidence in Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi even though it is known that such confidence does not belong in politics.

NIF Leaders Have Confidence in the Prime Minister

[Muhammad] The front did, in fact, rely on the confidence it had. I believe that NIF leaders do in fact have confidence in the prime minister. So far, however, I don't believe that the front's confidence in the prime minister has been shaken. You may say, of course, that this kind of confidence does not belong in politics, but you also know that there is one party that did not at all recognize the front as a party to the unification and to the government that is founded on it. That situation has to be taken into account. The DUP believes that the front is growing at its expense, taking away its districts, and attracting its members. The DUP believes the front is attracting people who are knowledgeable and attentive. It is on that basis that the DUP does not wish to recognize the front. Although the front attracts people from all other parties, it has most certainly had an impact and will continue to have an impact on the influence which the DUP used to enjoy in areas where people are knowledgeable and attentive. That, of course, was not something that the front did on purpose, but the DUP was supposed to have the wherewithal, the programs, and the policies that would have enabled it to keep its members in the areas where people are knowledgeable and attentive. In that regard, the DUP must recognize that it cannot keep the confidence of the masses forever. After all, the masses have absolute freedom. They have their own opinions, and they can change their minds. They can also be swayed [words missing], but the DUP considered the masses to be a constant quantity that could not be swayed by others, when it is a fact that the masses can be swayed. The masses can change, and they can react. That is why the front has been able to attract the masses in very large numbers.

The NIF and the Parties of the South

[AL-RAYAH] Despite what is being said about developing relations between the front and pro-unity parties in

the south, the front has also been denied a fair shot at the position of vice president of the Council for the South. And when regional governments were formed in the south, the front was unfairly dealt with. Doesn't this indicate that the conspiracy against the front remains in effect and continues?

[Muhammad] I would like to say for history's sake and for honesty's sake that the objection to appointing Mr 'Ali Tamim Fartak vice president of the Council for the South did not come from political parties in the south. All these parties had fully approved that appointment. The objection to that appointment came from one of the other unification parties.

[AL-RAYAH] Is it possible for you to name that political party?

[Muhammad] It was the Ummah Party that objected. I believe that the present Council for the South is the most homogeneous council. I also believe that the regional governments we have now are the most homogeneous regional governments we've had. I believe that for the first time in Sudan's history Muslims in the south are really represented in government; they are represented in the Council for the South and in regional governments in the south. All this happened because it was the opinion of our fellow southerners who are participating in the unity government that the regional government in the south had to be shored up by national elements in the same way that the national government in the north was being shored up by elements from the south. It was their opinion that there be some kind of correspondence and intermixing in that regard by having the north represented in the government of the south.

[AL-RAYAH] What was the Ummah Party's rationale for rejecting the appointment of the NIF's representative as vice president of the Council for the South?

[Muhammad] I don't believe there was a real rationale. The deputy governor of Bahr al-Ghazal, for example, was appointed by the Ummah Party 3 months earlier. The governor of West Bahr al-Ghazal was also appointed by the Ummah Party, which is the nation's party, and no one objected to that appointment even though the NIF was the only party which was not represented in the government of the south at that time. At any rate, it is up to the prime minister to intervene in the matter of Mr 'Ali Tamim Fartak's appointment as vice president of the Council for the South, and it is my judgment that he will.[passage omitted]

Why Did the Front Accept the Services Ministries?

[AL-RAYAH] Regarding the distribution of the ministries' portfolios in the unity government, was it a coincidence that services ministries were designated for the NIF? Was the NIF's acceptance of these ministries a risk or an act of optimism on its part? Does the front believe that it can offer the masses bread just as easily as it

defended citizens' liberties when it was in the opposition? In saying this, we are taking into account what is being said now about a cabinet shuffle. What would you say about that?

[Muhammad] Regarding the ministries which the front took charge of, we were acting from the outset on the premise that members of the DUP had reluctantly accepted the unification which was imposed on them. That is why their party wanted to keep all the ministries it had held in previous coalition governments. It was therefore up to the Ummah Party to give up some of its ministries to the front. The Ummah Party did that, and the Ministry of Industry, which used to go to the Ummah Party during the coalition period, was designated for the front. Then the Ministry of Trade was divided into two ministries, and the one dealing with domestic trade was given to the front. The Ministry of Communications was also divided into two, and one part was designated for the front. Something similar happened in the Ministry of Social Care which used to go to the Ummah Party during the coalition period: it too was divided into two parts, and one part was designated for the front. All this undoubtedly reflects the real concern which the Ummah Party has for the unification. It had to deal with the DUP phenomenon as a fact that could neither be overlooked nor dealt with in any other way.

And that is why I'm saying that there was no previous plan to designate the services ministries for the NIF. At any rate, this was something the front knew about, and it accepted the challenge. Even now, I still believe that the front can accomplish a great deal in its ministries despite the problems these ministries are facing.[passage omitted]

One-Fourth of the Ministries We Have Now Would Be Enough

[AL-RAYAH] It is known that the front has been calling for a reduction in the number of ministries and in the size of the Supreme Council (Head of State). Experience has shown us, as you mentioned, that dividing the ministries in the manner in which they are now divided is creating many problems. Besides, the country cannot afford to have such a large number of ministries, nor does it need them. At any rate, the front did face many difficulties, as you mentioned, as a result of dividing the ministries. The question now is this: if the front were given the choice of weighing its options, would it accept the division of ministries as we see that division now?

[Muhammad] If I had the choice, I believe I would choose to cut the number of these ministries because there is no need for the situation which exists now. I believe that one-fourth the number of ministries we have now would be enough to do the work which the government has to do. Of course, when the number of ministries is reduced, more ministers of state can be utilized. If we had one ministry for energy and industry, for

example, appointing one minister of state in that ministry would be acceptable. [passage omitted] The number of ministers of state has now risen above the agreed upon number, which is half the number of ministers in the central government. And that is also because one of the weaknesses of the unification is the fact that the DUP is appointing ministers of state without any regard to that agreement. This happened, for example, in connection with the appointment of a minister of state in the presidential palace.

Under such conditions, the NIF can do nothing but accept its lot. That is why you must know that leaders of the front are controlled by compelling practical circumstances. This is now evident in connection with the Supreme Council (Head of State). The front has not yet been represented on that council even though its presence in government has made a measurable contribution to the government's effectiveness, and the front's contribution has provoked strong criticism such as that which is being expressed now by those who know that much will be accomplished because of the front's presence in government.

[AL-RAYAH] Does the prime minister appoint the ministers of state without conducting political consultations with anyone?

[Muhammad] We appreciate the prime minister's position. The DUP is putting a lot of pressure on him because it wants to get more of the benefits of being in power. It is, of course, the prime minister's strong concern for the unification that is making him go along with much of what that party wants. And that, of course, is a negative phenomenon since the DUP is relishing the fact that it is taking advantage of the prime minister's concern for the unification and putting more pressure on him. It is the DUP that is responsible for delaying the appointment of a commissioner of the capital. It is the DUP that is responsible for the increase in the number of ministers of state. The party is also responsible for the fact that many matters remain pending. And the Cabinet's exemption of the party's recent initiative toward the rebels was not objective. If that initiative was considered a partisan initiative, then it had to be dealt with as such. At any rate, political mischief may have been behind the DUP's initiative because everything that is being said about peace and talks with the competent authorities had to do with the prime minister himself. Leaders of the DUP had no role to speak of even though the party has tried to hold on to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in all the governments that have been formed since the recent general elections were held. Therefore, leaders of the DUP might have felt that they were being isolated to a large extent from the question of peace, war and the south. With their recent initiative, they wanted to find some role for themselves. But as far as timing is concerned, it seems that leaders of the DUP determined that the time when the prime minister was inclined to

pursue stricter policies with the rebels was the right time for getting involved in that matter. I believe that Garang's movement may be more aware of that than the leaders of the DUP are.

Al-Sadiq Does Not Interfere in the Ministers' Business

[AL-RAYAH] It is being said that the prime minister does not interfere in the ministries' business. What has been your experience with him in this regard?

[Muhammad] Although I am in charge of a controversial ministry, I can certify that the prime minister did not interfere in the ministry's affairs. As a matter of fact, I may be the only minister who went to the prime minister to request a scheduled weekly meeting with him so I could brief him and consult with him about what goes on in the Ministry of Domestic Trade, Cooperatives, and Supplies, because it is one of the most controversial ministries in the unification government. [passage omitted] Such a lack of interference also preserves the prime minister's prestige, and ministers alone are held accountable for what they do.

[AL-RAYAH] But this method does not make it possible for the prime minister to hold ministers accountable for what they do. Doesn't this method allow problems to get worse and to go untreated until they come to a head?

[Muhammad] The prime minister is undoubtedly aware of that. He is also aware of the importance of followup and accountability for the entire government, including the prime minister himself. But his eyes are also set on the unification, and he hesitates a great deal before exercising his powers and authorities in that regard. At any rate, we have not yet faced a problem which required the prime minister's intervention in this manner. [passage omitted]

[AL-RAYAH] But some people believe that the prime minister is extremely sensitive. They believe he is very much afraid of protest demonstrations in the street such as those which broke out recently during the bread and sugar shortage in the nation's capital and in a few regional cities. It was said then in political gatherings that the prime minister had stated that he would correct the bread shortage at any price, even if he had to yield to pressure from flour merchants. Is he actually oversensitive, or is he afraid that democracy might collapse because his party is the one that has parliamentary majority right now?

[Muhammad] I don't believe the prime minister said anything about bread that was similar to what you said he said. The bread policies which were outlined by the Ministry of Foreign Trade won the prime minister's support and approval, especially the part that dealt with suspending dealings with flour brokers. The prime minister reviewed a special report on those brokers, and that report contained much information about their numbers, the profits they make, and the power they have.

That power actually makes them as powerful as an independent state. That is why I do not believe that the opinion which is being expressed in public is true. The prime minister may not be expressing his opinion on the bread policies because that is the job of the Ministry of Trade. If he were to speak about those policies, what he says may be construed as intervention in the business of the Ministry of Domestic Trade. I personally believe that this is the proper interpretation of the prime minister's position. Of course, if the prime minister were to talk about the details of implementing the bread policies and about brokers and mills, that would mean that the powers entrusted to the ministry in question have come to an end.

Let me say here that I personally have no objection to having the prime minister and other ministers talk about the policies of the Ministry of the Interior and how it operates. I will remain open-minded and willing to listen to anyone who wishes to talk to me about that because after all, I am implementing the Council of Ministers' policies. If other ministers wish to offer me their assistance in implementing these policies, I would welcome that. However, it would be unacceptable for the ministers to criticize these policies in newspapers and in the various media. I say this not because such criticism would be directed at me personally, but because this would be criticism of the government itself. A minister who does that wants to enjoy the privileges of being in power and in the opposition at the same time, and that in the world of politics is difficult to come by. Ministers cannot shirk the joint responsibility they have. [passage omitted]

Preventive Detention for Flour and Sugar Merchants

[AL-RAYAH] Preventive detention for those who buy and sell currency is considered a revolutionary policy. You spoke a lot about fictitious bakeries and flour merchants, and in spite of everything you said, no measures were taken about these bakeries and these merchants. Are you backing away from your statements?

[Muhammad] The ministry is starting now to take reports about the fictitious bakeries. However, everyone must know that this is a thorny and a major subject which could keep the ministry from doing its work if the ministry becomes preoccupied with it. There are approximately 150 fictitious bakeries in the area east of the Nile, and there are approximately 90 fictitious bakeries in the area west of the Nile. In Khartoum there are more than 30. If we were to follow that trail, concentrating our efforts on finding, exposing and restraining those bakeries, we would not finish the job in a short period of time, as many who have talked to me about that matter believe. That is why I believe that we must invoke the emergency law to deal with this phenomenon. If the ministry discovers that someone who has no bakery has received flour, that person must be arrested and detained as a preventive measure because such an action is destructive to the Sudanese economy. At any rate,

between last August and last October we apprehended 29 bribery cases, and reports were filed against persons selling sugar and flour on the black market. So far, however, most of these people have not been put on trial. Of course there is nothing we can do about them after the reports are filed. That is why I am in the process of drafting new measures so that any person [words missing from the Arabic text] would be arrested and held in preventive detention. Every truck owner or truck driver caught carrying sugar and flour to the black market would also be held in preventive detention. The truck in question and its cargo would be held until we could determine exactly where these quantities of sugar and flour came from and from whom they were purchased.

[AL-RAYAH] If ordinary court procedures cause delays in settling corruption cases that have to do with staples, why don't you take a short cut, so to speak, and set up emergency courts for those cases? Is Sudan still suffering from a Numayri complex?

[Muhammad] I personally support emergency courts. I said that on the radio, and I stated that it made no sense to reject them because Numayri had set up such courts. I stated that all of us had to get rid of this complex because the logic which made us enact an emergency code was the same logic that required us to set up emergency courts.

[AL-RAYAH] What do others in government think about that, especially the district attorney and the prime minister?

[Muhammad] I cannot speak for the others, but I don't believe they would reject those emergency courts which are being sought because those who reject them are the same people who rejected the declaration of a state of emergency in the country and the enactment of an emergency law. And yet, the region of Darfur now has emergency courts for fighting armed robbery.[passage omitted]

We can talk about all this for a long time, but I believe that something has to be done about such practices. The radio broadcast team which recently interviewed the minister of state called my attention to the need to publicize these violations in newspapers and in the media. I believe they are right. If a truck carrying flour or sugar and no documentation is seized, the media must be allowed to do their part and to expose such a violation. That is why I issued a directive allowing the media to play that part. Anyone who commits such a violation will be questioned immediately by radio officials.

[AL-RAYAH] On our part we support such an approach, and we affirm that we will not defame anyone. Instead, we will uncover the facts and give readers all the facts.

[Muhammad] I hope you will do this because we are now actually facing pressures from some of those who believe that we are all talk and no action. [passage omitted] That

is why I issued a directive to supply detectives directing them to prepare a list of violations which have been apprehended so far. It turned out that so far there have been 29 cases.

[AL-RAYAH] Don't you believe that the government's information systems are weak?

[Muhammad] The government's information systems are weak. That is why we decided in the Ministry of Domestic Trade to set up an information unit which will be provided with all the equipment necessary to uncover such practices. Anyone who is caught smuggling or selling supply goods in the black market will be photographed. These pictures will be shown on television, provided there are documents and other incriminating evidence showing that such a violation has been committed.

[AL-RAYAH] Has there been any coordination in this regard with the Ministry of Information?

[Muhammad] There is no problem here. Our colleague, the minister of information, encourages this policy. He is enthusiastic about it, and he wants the media to do their part in that regard.

[AL-RAYAH] The country has a number of sugar refineries, but despite the measures you are taking to fight smuggling and the black market, sugar is still being sold to citizens for over 5 pounds per pound. Given the joint responsibility you have in the Cabinet, what is keeping this commodity from being sold to citizens at official prices?

[Muhammad] The sugar question is not an easy one, and many people are blaming us for doing nothing about it. Of course we want to do something about this question. We want to make sugar available to citizens at official prices, but there are policies which have to be adopted by the Cabinet, especially with regard to sugar prices which have been determined. Local refineries produce approximately 425,000 tons of sugar a year, but local consumption is approximately 575,000 tons a year. Assuming that local refineries do in fact produce the quantities which have been determined for them, this means that approximately 150,000 tons of sugar must be imported. But if we took the experience we had last year, we will find that local refineries failed to produce anything over 75 percent of the quantities which had been determined for them. I believe that this year too these refineries will produce no more than 75 percent of the quantities determined for them. This means that our local production will not exceed 300,000 tons, and the sugar shortage will be approximately 275,000 tons.

I presented those facts to a meeting of the economic sector's ministers, and we will present them to the Cabinet. That is why I'm saying that the first thing we must do is conserve the amount of sugar we import. We must then set proper guidelines for sugar consumption.

Per capita sugar consumption in the nation's capital, which was 67 kg a year, has risen and is now over 100 kg a year. In spite of that, a large number of citizens do not get the sugar they need. That is why we will try to streamline the distribution of sugar, and we will introduce a ration card system. We did in fact introduce that system on an experimental basis in 28 of the neighborhoods in the capital, and the results were stunning. The number of families in those neighborhoods was counted, and individuals in those families were given twice the amount of sugar used as a universal standard. Although the universal standard for per capita sugar consumption is 1.5 ounces a day, we actually gave each individual 3 ounces of sugar a day. In spite of that, we saved approximately 40 bags of sugar which had been earmarked for those neighborhoods.

And now preparations are being made for another experiment in which two ounces of sugar will be issued to each individual. The purpose of this experiment is to determine the amount of daily sugar consumption per capita so that we can use this figure as a standard for distribution. We are facing a method of distribution in the nation's capital which has not yet been introduced into the supply system. We want to save quantities of sugar which could be designated for people who immigrate to the capital from other areas. What is happening now is that sugar which is earmarked for the capital is increased every time because of immigrants. And yet, those immigrants have not yet been incorporated into the capital's supply system.

In general, I wish to say that prudent countries intervene in such matters and set proper guidelines for the consumption of goods which are difficult for the country to get. For example, during World War II Britain reduced the designated amount of per capita sugar consumption. It went even further and issued a law which defined permissible specifications for citizens' clothing. At any rate, we do not wish to subject citizens to a system that would reduce their sugar consumption, even though we are facing a war in the south. Although no one is asking those who started the war to stop fighting, some people are asking the government to deliver sugar to the south. The only thing we want to know is how much sugar a citizen consumes so we can try to provide these amounts and ensure the fair distribution of this commodity in the country.

Whatever happens, the sugar issue is not an easy one. It is an issue which has been surrounded by many distortions. I am personally very careful about letting the people know as of now that the government will not be able to import sugar. I want citizens to make the necessary arrangements as of now to set proper guidelines for their sugar consumption. As far as our policies are concerned, we will start, as of now, storing the equivalent of 25 percent of the sugar quotas designated for each region. Should there be a shortage, each region would deal with conditions in that region by disposing of its own strategic reserve.

[19 Nov 88 pp 4-5]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] This is the second part of the candid, face-to-face interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, secretary of political affairs in the National Islamic Front and minister of domestic trade, cooperatives, and supply. The hottest topic of the conversation had to do with the front's position on districts for graduates in the next general elections. The race for those elections has already begun. The interview also covered questions and answers about how to overcome the foreign aid predicament, especially American aid. The country depends on this American aid for food—the wheat and flour it needs. Policies on supervision by the people, on supply and on cooperatives reform were also dealt with. The interview also covered questions and answers about conditions in Darfur and the positions of some representatives of that region on the joint pro-unity plan between Libya and Sudan. In addition, the interview also covered the effects on the political scene of the recent agreement between al-Mirghani and Garang, as well as Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad's analyses of this agreement. Let's go then to the text of the interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj. [passage omitted]

[AL-RAYAH] It is normal that the unity government's actions to apply the canonical laws of Islam are subjecting the government to economic pressures from the West. It is being said now that early signs of such pressures are evident in the fact that the United States is dragging its feet about signing the agreement to provide Sudan with quantities of wheat and flour. Our question is this: what are the alternatives which the government has lined up to deal with the circumstances which will result from these pressures?

[Muhammad] We thank the United States for the aid and support it offered us during the previous period. If one has a friend who is always helping, it is one's duty to thank that friend. But I do believe that it is time to think rationally about the wheat and flour issue. So far this year we have not been able to sign an agreement in this regard with the United States. That is why we don't know yet whether or not we will be able to get the aid. At any rate, total American aid, which consists of wheat and flour, amounts to approximately \$40 million, including approximately \$11 million which must be spent on transportation. The rest of the amount is to be used to provide approximately 120,000 tons of wheat and about 30,000 or 40,000 tons of flour. These quantities would meet Sudan's needs for about 2 months only. That is why discussions about American aid with regard to wheat and flour are disproportionate to the volume of that aid.

Based on that premise, I believe that the time has come for Sudan to depend on its own corn production for food because a state that does not have enough to eat cannot control its own decisions. We thank God that we have a corn surplus this year, which amounts to approximately 3 million tons. That is a large amount of corn. That is why I believe that the time has come to encourage

citizens to depend on the corn we produce in the country for our food. [passage omitted] If we are talking about the canonical laws of Islam, Islamic laws call for a return to basics. Islamic laws require that food for citizens be provided. It would be very difficult to apply the canonical laws of Islam if the country continues to rely on foreign countries for its food.

There is another suggestion to consider if our attempts to change citizens' consumer habits falter before we can depend on corn as a principal food crop. Government can export corn and use revenues from corn sales abroad to purchase wheat, flour, and sugar. According to information available in this regard, the surplus corn which is available can yield enough foreign currency returns to finance the purchase of wheat, flour, and sugar in quantities sufficient for 1 whole year. What is wrong with this alternative, however, is that we will have to export 1.5 tons of corn to buy 1 ton of wheat. The country thus loses half a ton of corn for each ton of wheat it imports, even though the nutritional value of both crops is the same. We will also have to export about three tons of corn to import one ton of flour. The other thing that is wrong with this suggestion is that it makes the country depend on foreign countries for the grain it needs. In that case, any problem resulting from war or other conditions that might delay or stop international navigation will cause the country to face difficulties in getting the food it needs. That is why I prefer the first suggestion.

Regions Cannot Be Permitted To Import Goods

[AL-RAYAH] Among the recommendations that were made in a recent conference for regional governors is one that would allow the regions to import the goods they need.

[Muhammad] We are now calling for sugar imports in quantities that can close the gap between local production and the country's annual sugar consumption. If the regions are allowed to import what they need, not only would that disregard the Ministry of Domestic Trade, but it would also disregard the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Some regions will have a greater ability to import than others, and the just distribution of goods among citizens will not be guaranteed in that case. At any rate, foreign trade is not part of a regional government's jurisdiction.

[AL-RAYAH] The governors have also talked about their authority with regard to the distribution of goods inside their regions, and that includes shipping and storing those goods. Our question is this: what is the ministry planning to do to coordinate its activities in that regard with the regional governments?

[Muhammad] The regional government law is still the same law which was issued in 1980. That is why we consider existing conditions in the regions to be those of a transition period. [passage omitted]

I do admit that spheres of authority overlap. That is a result of the fact that the 1980 law is still in effect, even though we now have a democracy that requires that new laws be issued in that regard. At any rate, I would like to mention that quotas for different commodities which were designated for the regions last year were determined by decree issued by the Cabinet. The quotas were determined on the basis of certain estimates that were made of quantities that will be produced locally and quantities that will be imported. We have not yet received any estimates on local production or on quantities to be imported.

[AL-RAYAH] Much is being said about troops of supply detectives. Our question is this: How large are these troops, and how competent are they?

[Muhammad] Supply detectives are actually doing a reasonable job of performing their duties, but they will not be able to do everything we hoped they could do to fight the black market and smuggling, because only supervision by the people can do that. I see that as a part of the ministry's policies. There are approximately 100 supply detectives, and they are so far limited to the national capital. [Words missing from the Arabic text] except supervision by the people to fight smuggling and the black market. Of course, once regional and local government agencies are rounded out, broad capabilities for stimulating and regulating the people's supervision will become available in the national capital and in the regions.

On a related matter we reached an agreement with the computer departments at al-Jazirah and Khartoum Universities that will enable us to set up a computer unit at the ministry which we can use to implement the ration card program. I believe that this ration card program will make a big contribution to tightening the controls on staples which are subsidized by the state.

The May Regime and Tribal Conflict in Darfur

[AL-RAYAH] Much is being said about tribal conflicts in Darfur, especially between the Fur and the Arab tribes. As a member of Darfur's ministerial committee, what is the situation in that region now?

[Muhammad] It is not true that there is conflict between the Arabs and the Fur in Darfur, but there is conflict between some tribes in areas inhabited by the Fur. You undoubtedly realize that Darfur did not get its name because all who live there are Fur. Areas inhabited by the Fur are also inhabited by Arab and other non-Arab tribes. These tribes have been living among the Fur for hundreds of years, and they have intermarried with them. Some members of the other tribes speak the language of the Fur. At any rate, I believe that, since the past administration, many politicians have been trying to start conflicts and disputes between the Arabs and the Fur. The goals they are seeking have to do with their own interests.[passage omitted] Even after the uprising and

the promise of democracy, political parties were not fully organized, and many of Darfur's intellectuals joined political parties because of their tribal affiliations. They joined because of close relations which developed from the experiences they had with political activity in the May regime. After that, there was foreign intervention, and conditions continued to deteriorate because the parties involved in the foreign intervention emphasized citizens' tribal affiliations. The introduction of large quantities of weapons into the region by those involved in the foreign intervention also led increasing numbers of citizens to trade in weapons and to try stirring up conflicts to promote the sale of weapons in the markets.

Anyway, I believe that noticeable improvements in the situation are starting to occur for two reasons. All the tribes, whether they are Arabs or Fur, feel that if they do not get together in an effort to find solutions to the problems between them, they will all lose in the end because the conflicts between the tribes have encompassed all of them. Furthermore, the firearms which are used in these conflicts are deadly. Scores of people lose their lives when one shot is fired. [sentence as published] Conditions have become so bad that sometimes the armed forces and the police can do nothing about them. Citizens have had to seek protection and assistance from Khartoum, but then they realize that Khartoum too has very limited resources.

As a result of all that, the ministerial committee which handles conditions in Darfur issued decisions following its recent visit to the region. There was broad agreement with those decisions among citizens. Emergency courts which were set up to settle armed robbery cases swiftly and justly were set up also to act as a deterrent. The committee also had an unequivocal opinion on the subject of foreign intervention in the region: it would not be tolerated. And now, thank God, along with this autumn season of abundance, agricultural production and the revival of the pastures will have an effect on alleviating armed robbery cases because the drought also helped to exacerbate the armed robbery problem as well as the problem of tribal conflicts and strife in the region.[passage omitted]

The Positions of Opponents of the Libyan-Sudanese Agreement Are Based on Narrow, Regional Premises

[AL-RAYAH] Some representatives in the Ummah Party and in the NIF have declared positions which opposed those of their parties because their parties supported the Pro-Unity Action Pact between Sudan and Libya. What do you think about these positions?

[Muhammad] I believe these positions express narrow, regional principles. I have spoken with many people from Darfur, and I have found that they have doubts about this Pro-Unity Pact because they think it would have a negative effect on conditions in Darfur. To all those I would say that national sovereignty is a national issue which must transcend narrow, regional principles.

For example, it is because of the country's national issues and national sovereignty that the central government does not allow the Eastern Region to import the goods it needs from abroad. The reason behind that decision is not the region's inability to import goods, but is rather an expression of national sovereignty and of the country's national policy. The situation in the south now is also a national issue, and the central government is trying everything to find remedies for it. However, the fact that a solution to the problem of the south will create other problems in other areas is another matter. Some who oppose the Pro-Unity Pact between Sudan and Libya think it will create other problems. That may be true, but it is of course as likely a possibility as such positions that you are talking about would dictate. At any rate, the positions of those who oppose the Pro-Unity Action Pact are narrow, regional positions which may have been prompted by pressure from local public opinion. Representatives, of course, cannot overlook the pressures to which they are subjected in this regard. That is why they try to express their opinions in that context for reasons which are associated exclusively with the elections.[passage omitted]

NIF Is Careful About Convening Constituent Assembly

[AL-RAYAH] The representatives' vacation is almost over. There is talk about extending the vacation for another period. What is the front's attitude in that regard?

[Muhammad] We do want the Constituent Assembly to be convened again so it can go through the stages of ratifying the proposed criminal code. In addition, we want the assembly to participate in the many peace-related activities which are taking place now. Some people want this peace to come about with the Muslim majority surrendering to the rebels and their foreign accomplices. In this context I would like to draw the attention of members of the People's Assembly to the fact that intense foreign activity is going on these days for the purpose of aborting the decision they made to issue the criminal code which is derived from the canonical laws of Islam. Of course, if an agreement for peace is reached, it will be executed by the Constituent Assembly. The agreement can thus become an actual expression of the people's wishes.

[AL-RAYAH] Before we go on and continue with other aspects of the political conversation, let us go back one more time to the Ministry of Domestic Trade, and let us ask about the ministry's policies on cooperatives.

[Muhammad] It is the ministry's policy to make membership in existing cooperative societies open to everyone and then to convene new general assemblies to elect officials who would hold positions of responsibility in these societies. This is because we want the cooperatives to become a channel we can depend on for distributing staple commodities. I personally believe that it will be a long time before we can get rid of the supply system.

Under the present conditions of the economy and the declining value of Sudan's currency, anyone who brings just \$1 million into the country can buy large quantities of goods which he can store. He can then control their prices in the market. That is why cooperatives have to be opened up, and citizens must be permitted to join these cooperative institutions. We must also depend on the cooperatives as a basic channel for distributing supply commodities to citizens.[passage omitted]

The Race Is On for the Next Elections

[AL-RAYAH] The race is on already between political parties in preparation for the next general elections. The Cabinet decided recently to form a committee to draft a new elections bill. Many people believe that the elections are the target of the talks between al-Mirghani and the rebels. In this context it is known that many suggestions have been made about the elections law. These include abolishing districts for graduates, having representation for modern forces, and adopting a proportional representation system. What is your opinion about that?

[Muhammad] The race for the elections is actually on. It was the front's opinion that districts for graduates had been dictated by a certain need. The front was not among those who were calling for such districts, and I have nothing to add about that. But talking about the elections in the context of tying them to peace and the south is something else. Let me say that Garang's movement does not seem to be concerned about the survival of democracy or about holding elections. There is a simple reason for that. Garang's movement is not a movement that wants to establish democracy in the country. That is why I believe that the biggest problem Garang will face is a call for new general elections. That could be the outcome of the talks which are going on with him now. In that case I don't know where members and leaders of the rebellious movement would declare their candidacy. I don't believe they would win in the south. At any rate, we in the front will be careful about holding the general elections on time. [passage omitted]

[AL-RAYAH] This is the question: if we consider the DUP a party that broke ranks with the unification because its recent agreement with the rebels contained articles which contradicted the government's charter, what will the front do about the other party, the Ummah Party? There are practical matters to consider here, including the fact that the proposed criminal code, which was passed by representatives on the second reading, is now under consideration by the legislative committee.

[Muhammad] If an agreement was actually made, according to what has now been published, it is obvious that implementation of this agreement will be very difficult. For example, the condition that the canonical laws of Islam be frozen will be rejected by the front and by a large number of members of the Constituent Assembly. Those include a large number of representatives who represent the DUP itself. It is known that over 20 DUP

representatives had declared their support and backing for that law when it was being deliberated recently in the Constituent Assembly. At this stage, at any rate, stopping the legislative measures which are associated with the proposed criminal code would mean that the existing regime lacks confidence in itself and is challenging its own legitimacy. It is known that the rebels had objections to holding general elections in the country, and yet, elections were held; the existing constitutional organizations were formed; and the regime proceeded to implement its programs in all areas, including that of issuing alternative Islamic laws. That is why if the existing regime goes along with anyone who can stop its wheels from turning, it will have revoked its own legitimate status. I don't believe there is anyone in government who would accept that.

The question of the south is another matter with a domestic side and a foreign one. Wisdom requires that government show no preference for either side, and that is why agreeing to the rebels' conditions would essentially mean that the foreign side, which is represented by John Garang, had achieved a position with the government which is superior to that held by southern political forces participating in government and committed to the existing legitimate regime. This would mean the collapse of the entire legitimate regime. And that is why the ultimate outcome of going along with the agreement between the DUP and the rebels could be destructive to the existing regime. Regarding its implementation, the agreement between al-Mirghani and Garang is an agreement between political parties. Briefing other political parties on the agreement, especially those which are participating in government, would be required. After that, the agreement would have to be presented to the Cabinet if the parties in power approve of it. The Cabinet, of course, will not be able to stop the proposed criminal code, for example, because the code, which is no longer in the Cabinet, has made significant progress beyond that stage and is moving toward ratification in the Constituent Assembly. And that is also why the assembly will have to be informed about the agreement so it can deal with it in accordance with provisions regulating its activities.

Thus it becomes evident that the effort to implement this agreement will involve the country in turmoil and throw government organizations into confusion. The rebels will be the only beneficiaries of that. The rebels, undoubtedly aware of that, realize that this agreement cannot be carried out, but they want the publicity which they can get out of this turmoil and confusion. They know that the NIF and the political parties participating in government do not approve of this agreement. They know that the Constituent Assembly too does not approve of this agreement, and they know that it will be difficult for them to become involved now in the Constituent Assembly's activities. And now the DUP can do nothing more than drag its feet and procrastinate in the legislative committee by boycotting meetings and resorting to other useless tricks.

The agreement set conditions which have to do with national sovereignty and with the people's armed forces who defend the country: the state of emergency had to be lifted; joint defense agreements had to be cancelled; and a ceasefire had to be declared. How can we lift the state of emergency, withdraw cover from our armed forces, and then declare a ceasefire? At any rate, I believe that none of these complications and preconditions is required for peace. If the rebels do agree to participate in the constitutional conference, the government must undoubtedly be quite ready to convene such a conference now in a matter of days. It must be ready to convene such a conference without setting any pre-conditions to achieve peace. I say this because the documents which have been prepared are now ready for immediate negotiations. We will set no preconditions, nor will we accept any preconditions that are set by others. The constitutional conference can be convened without any such preconditions set by any side or party to the negotiations. However, if someone insists on setting preconditions, we too can set a precondition of our own. We can demand, for example, that the rebels discharge their fighters first.

[AL-RAYAH] But, Dr Muhammad, many people believe that the government's continued implementation of its programs will make the constitutional conference useless. At any rate, doesn't calling the peace talks a constitutional conference make these talks seem from the outset as though they were incompatible with the existing Constitution, on whose foundation the legitimate government stands?

[Muhammad] Garang's movement isn't to blame for that. It made it very clear that it did not want Islamic laws and did not recognize the existing regime. So far, Garang's movement has been quite consistent. It has not contradicted itself; it has not been ambivalent; and its vision in that regard has not been blurred. There is, however, ambivalence as well as blurred vision right here among some people. The DUP, for example, which is a participant in government, goes to the rebels, makes an agreement with them to freeze the canonical laws of Islam, and thinks it can persuade the others to go along with that. The DUP is thus ignoring the fact that no one has found a way to implement the Koka Dam Agreement.[passage omitted]

No matter what is said about the letter which the prime minister wrote to Mr al-Mirghani, I don't believe that this letter is anything more than an expression of good will. But it is clear now that the prime minister's general approach is based on agreeing with anyone who wants to talk with the rebels. So far, he has not rejected any initiative in that regard which was undertaken by Sudanese or foreigners. It seems the prime minister is convinced that these initiatives will reach a dead end and everyone who went to talk with the rebels will come back more convinced than he was before that the rebels are stubborn and intransigent. At any rate, I believe the rebels know better than to rely on an agreement with one

of the country's political parties, especially if that agreement is truly an expression of the position of one of the party's many segments, as is the case regarding the recent agreement between al-Mirghani and Garang.

Between the Prime Minister and the Rebels

[AL-RAYAH] But, Dr Muhammad, it seems that the rebels' objective is to continue muddying the political waters in the country. That is why the prime minister's continuing tolerance for every initiative undertaken by any political party or by any domestic or foreign intermediary to negotiate with the rebels becomes in fact an expression of support for the rebels' efforts to implement their objectives.[passage omitted]

[Muhammad] As far as we are concerned in the front, the political waters have not been muddled for us. We see everything quite clearly. What we have is a change of roles: instead of a meeting between al-Sadiq and Garang, we've now had a meeting between al-Mirghani and Garang. Once again, the outcome of that meeting will not differ from the outcome of the meeting that took place between al-Sadiq and the rebels.

[AL-RAYAH] Dr Muhammad, if you were to present alternatives to the prime minister which call for convening a constitutional conference or dissolving the Constituent Assembly and holding general elections in the country, what advice would you give him?

[Muhammad] I would advise him to accept a constitutional conference without any preconditions. I would advise him to accept that any time, anywhere. If, as a result of the conference, an agreement to dissolve the Constituent Assembly is reached, the assembly can be dissolved at that time. But if the rebels set a condition from the outset that the government stop implementing its economic program, for example, that condition would be unacceptable. Of course, we in the front will agree to abide by any results that are agreed to after the unconditional constitutional conference is held.

[AL-RAYAH] Are you talking about political results or legislative ones?

[Muhammad] We will abide by the political results, which, of course, are the more important ones. It is known that the Sudan Charter, which was issued by the front in January 1987, mentioned that resolutions issued by the Constitutional Conference had to be unanimous. Recommendations, however, could be made by a majority vote. All resolutions and recommendations would then be presented to the existing Constituent Assembly. It is on that basis that we abide by any unanimous resolutions. Of course, presenting these resolutions and recommendations to the Constituent Assembly is something that has to be done. If, for example, it is agreed that the country's system of government be a presidential republic, the existing Constituent Assembly will be the only organization that can implement this agreement.

Let me assure you once again that the rebels don't care about the survival of the existing democracy in the country. Under this democracy they will not be able to get anything unless it is approved by those in power. Furthermore, they will have to deal with other questions. Most importantly, they will have to deal with the question of what will become of the fighters in the ranks of the rebel movement.

Consequences of NIF Leaders' Participation in Regime

[AL-RAYAH] Let's go back to the front one more time. There are those who believe that the front made a mistake when it allowed its political leaders, including its secretary general and the secretary of political affairs, to serve in the regime's organizations. In doing so the front lost its ability to influence the government's performance from outside.

[Muhammad] That depends on one's perspective. The front participated with the regime to implement certain programs and specific policies. Chief among those is drafting and issuing Islamic laws in the country. I myself was one of those who believed that, without the participation of the front's leaders in government organizations, these programs and policies would not be implemented.

[AL-RAYAH] Some people believe that the prime minister himself wanted leaders of the front, including the secretary general, to participate in government. This is because most of the problems which the prime minister is facing now from the DUP are due to the fact that the DUP is not represented in government organizations. That is why it is highhanded in its dealings with the government.

[Muhammad] I personally agree with the prime minister about the need to involve al-Mirghani in government organizations. I am certain that having al-Mirghani in the Cabinet will make him agree with many of the government's positions and decisions which he often objects to now.

[AL-RAYAH] Dr Muhammad, some confusion has also been noticed in party and official matters. This was evident when Dr Abu-Salih visited Addis Ababa as a member of the DUP to reach an agreement with the rebels.

[Muhammad] It is true that Dr Abu-Salih is the minister of foreign affairs, but that does not mean that he is not a member of a political party. I personally supported Dr Abu-Salih's trip to Addis Ababa because I have more confidence in his positions on Islamic law.

[AL-RAYAH] But your confidence, Dr Muhammad, would have been appropriate if there had been no agreement. But there was an agreement to start with, and Dr Abu-Salih's trip to Addis Ababa was useless in that regard.

[Muhammad] I am confident because Dr Abu-Salih will explain to the rebels why he supports Islamic law. He will explain his position candidly and unequivocally. In addition, we do need to have an honest person to tell us what actually happened there.

Factions Agree To Reunite Sudanese National Party

45000107 Khartoum *AL-AYYAM* in Arabic
23 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] An agreement has been concluded to unite the factions of the Sudanese National Party, which was divided into two parts: the Sudanese National Party under the leadership of Father Philip 'Abbas Ghabbush, and the Sudanese National Party—collective leadership—under Mr Muhammad Hammad Kuwah.

[Minister of Tourism and Hotels] Amin Bashir Filin, a member of the party, said that it was also agreed to keep Father Philip as the head of the party.

Regarding the party's remaining in the Ministry of Tourism after this agreement, Mr Filin said that there is a committee that will decide whether the party should remain in the Ministry or not.

NIF Refuses Participation in Government Without Shari'ah

45000112 Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic
21 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] 'Abd-al-Wahhab 'Uthman, minister of industry and secretary of the National Islamic Front's [NIF] economic office, has said that the NIF's entry into the government was in order to establish Islamic shari'ah [Islamic law]. He said that the Ummah Party's promise to apply shari'ah was what had prompted the NIF to participate in the government.

His excellency talked about the consultations to form the government, affirming that negotiations got under way on the basis that shari'ah would be the fundamental pillar of the coming government.

Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab 'Uthman affirmed that, if any incoming government does not have shari'ah as one of its programs, the NIF will not participate in it and will not be included in its formation, i.e., any renunciation of the Ummah Party's promise to apply shari'ah means the NIF's departure from the government.

Anyanya II Forces Take Alleira, Kok

45040109 Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic
21 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] God be praised, on 16 January 1989 the Anyanya II forces were able to launch an attack on the rebels in the Alleira region, where they clashed with the rebels and were able to completely liberate and take over Alleira.

They killed three rebels and captured two Kalashnikov rifles. The rebel forces fled. Five women who had been captured by the rebel forces were freed.

On 17 January 1989, the Anyanya II forces launched an attack on the rebel forces in the Kok region, where they were able to expell the rebels and capture three Kalashnikov rifles, three G3 rifles, and a Chinese-manufactured semi-automatic rifle. Seven rebels were killed and a number were wounded.

Also, two of the rebels joined the ranks of the Anyanya II forces. They are: Lieutenant (Shan Ruwa Turwah) and Sergeant (Niyal Dub), along with all their weapons. They carry Kalashnikov rifles with the numbers 28709 and 22471.

Darfur Judge Claims Foreign Intervention in Region

45040183b Khartoum *AL-SIYASAH* in Arabic
29 Dec 88 p 3

[Report by Ahmad Khalil Hamid]

[Text] The Darfur Students' League at Omdurman Islamic University is engaged in an effort to shape the opinions of Darfur residents on the problems which the region has been experiencing. In the course of those efforts, it held a town meeting on the evening of Saturday, 24 November, at the Muslim Students' Union. Dr al-Tijani Sisi, governor of the region, spoke at that town meeting.

The governor divided the question of security in Darfur into three main areas of robbery incidents.

The governor made it clear that these areas had started to vanish and disappear, especially in the eastern and northeastern parts of the region, in spite of the fact that some of these incidents were still evident in tribal boundary areas.

Tribal Conflicts

Tribal conflicts are not new and may be attributed to human nature. Conflicts can happen among members of the same clan.

Many tribal conflicts which occurred previously in Darfur, such as the conflicts between the al-Ta'a'ishah and the al-Salamat, between the al-Qimr and the al-Fallatah, and recently between the Fur and the northern al-Zurayqa', were contained. Contrary to what is rumored by some people, the recent conflicts were not between the Arabs and the Fur. Although these recent conflicts could have been contained with a little patience and perseverance, it is unfortunate that the recent problem in Jabal Murrah was exploited for political gain by a few intellectuals who are residents of the region who had failed politically.

It is also regrettable that, in their quest for a sensational news story, a few newspapers in Khartoum have been habitually exaggerating events in Darfur. While the fires of civil strife in the region were kept smoldering, performing charitable work provided a cover for a few tribal leagues to be formed. These leagues used the situation to help their relatives by giving them weapons and military plans to launch strikes against other tribes. That is why the regional government decreed that all tribal leagues in the region be dissolved. The regional government has been trying to convene a peace conference for the feuding parties.

The governor of Darfur told those who attended the town meeting that he had received information indicating that the feuding parties were listening to the voice of reason.

Foreign Troops

The governor made it clear that foreign troops were in the region, carrying weapons, plundering, and then returning to Chad to fight against its government.

There were plans made by a few detachments to occupy parts of Darfur and use them as safe staging areas to invade Chad. Other groups resisting those detachments are trying to create a security zone within Darfur.

The regional government asked the central government to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure Sudan's sovereignty.

The governor revealed that there were approximately 14 fully equipped feuding detachments from Chad in the region. He said these detachments were plotting to occupy some areas in the region. The governor said that an armed force from Chad led by a former minister had entered the region to wipe out the Ibn-'Umar forces. "But our armed forces were not remiss in their response: they dealt with them in a manner that preserved the country's sovereignty."

The governor made it clear that, while he was in Rabat attending a conference for French-African countries, he met with Hissein Habre, Chad's president. The two men talked about the steady stream of armed bandits and hostile groups into the region and the negative impact of that situation on security in the region. The two men considered the creation of a joint force to monitor the border areas between the two countries, and they looked into arrangements that would follow the creation of that force.

The governor of Darfur visited the Libyan Jamahiriya after the conference. In Libya, the governor appreciated the fact that the historic leaders of the First of September Revolution had agreed with the suggestion to set up a code regulating trade between the two countries. Accordingly, a delegation from the regional government will travel to Libya to execute the agreement.

The governor concluded his address by appealing to the citizens of Darfur to join forces to put an end to encroachments on the region's security and to repeated crises in the region.

Writer Accuses Embassies of Espionage, Exploitation

45040183c Khartoum AL-USBU' in Arabic
29 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Dr 'Umar Muhammad 'Ali Muhammad: "Dr 'Umar Muhammad 'Ali Writes for AL-USBU' on Foreign Ambassadors, Politics: 'Let Brothers and Friends Understand Their Limits in Dealing with Our Country; the Sudan Will Not Yield to Foreign Wishes"]

[Text] In many countries of the world no one but the state's protocol officials know the names of some foreign ambassadors in their country. In fact, people may not even know who the presidents of those countries are. And that is a reflection of the people's national interests, which are greater than their international interests, if they have any.

Accordingly, dealing with those ambassadors and with other diplomats comes under the general rules regulating international relations. One of these general rules requires states to treat each other like equals, even if one of them is a superpower and the other a Third World country. Another general rule is that of reciprocity in diplomatic affairs. Still another rule requires countries to become bound by their commitment not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. This is the normal, prevailing situation in today's world.

But the situation in the Sudan is astonishing and is continuously undermining the national will. The Sudanese people now know the names of many foreign ambassadors by heart because of the coverage they get in the media, coverage which is supposed to keep the state's national interests in mind. Some ambassadors are now more famous than many of the Sudan's ministers, who have become so numerous and so unsettled in their positions, that their effectiveness has been diminished. Under the Sudan's current behind-the-scenes diplomacy, our situation now is such that some ambassadors have more power and influence than senior state officials do. Thus began the process of violating the general rules which regulate the business of diplomacy in international affairs.

Equal Treatment

Let's take, for example, the principle of equal treatment between countries. Many foreign ambassadors in the Sudan hardly recognize the fact that the Sudan is entitled to be treated as an equal. The countries of some of these ambassadors have been lavishing aid upon the Sudan, especially since the country has had its share of drought, lack of rainfall, torrential rains, floods and pests. In addition, the Sudan, which has been politically unstable

since its independence, has been fighting a war in the south. Consequently, some of these ambassadors thought the aid their countries were offering to the Sudan was actually a "down payment" for the Sudan's conscience. They thought that the poor conditions the Sudan was experiencing would be enough reason for the Sudan to yield to foreign wishes, whatever they are. There is no doubt that some shortcomings in the state's administrative, security and diplomatic activities, in addition to the partisan and sectarian fighting, must have advanced this erroneous image of the Sudan in the minds of some people.

Another example we provide has to do with the extent to which the principle of equal treatment is applied. Some foreign embassies in the Sudan own the land and buildings they occupy, but the Sudan's embassies in those countries occupy leased property or small pieces of property which the Sudan acquired. This property cannot be compared to property other countries acquired in the Sudan. Some embassies increased the number of their employees and expanded their divisions and their consulates in a manner that goes far beyond the real volume of business they do in the Sudan. Some of them placed strict restrictions on the ability of Sudanese citizens to enter the embassy to complete any business they have with the consulate. In addition, some of these embassies and consulates drag their feet, procrastinate, and charge high fees. At the same time, no Sudanese embassy abroad has considered putting similar measures into action.

Some ambassadors walk into the Sudan's sovereign ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, without obtaining permission or an appointment in advance, as though these ministries were a public park. At the same time their ministries abroad close their doors to Sudanese diplomats, even after essential administrative measures are completed. Any one of these foreign ambassadors can meet with a Sudanese official any time, anywhere, to talk about any subject. But our ambassadors can hardly hope for a meeting with the presidents of those countries, even when they are presenting their credentials, which is something that happens only once, and even then, after much waiting and footdragging.

Special Security Systems for Embassies

Some ambassadors' interventions in the internal affairs of the state were soon uncovered when they openly imported security systems under the guise of providing protection. Some of them aligned themselves with a few of the Sudan's political parties and sects. Others advised their governments to try winning the affections of Sudanese citizens who were working or studying in those countries. They advised their governments to take advantage of the conditions of those Sudanese citizens to apply pressure on the Sudan's government. Still others made considerable efforts to influence the national media, using a soft approach one time and scare tactics

another time. Behind the scenes, however, some of these foreign ambassadors received popular delegations and traveled at will up and down the country. At the same time, I saw our diplomats denied permission to travel from one city to another in their countries without getting prior permission, which is rarely given. This situation continued until, as we've seen, a few of them bragged about this in their own private gatherings, or in the media. They bragged about their ability to change the entire government and not just one minister. They have been taking so many liberties that they are trying to impose the laws and traditions of their countries on the people of the Sudan in the Sudan.

These are the reasons why foreigners in the Sudan do not take decrees issued by Sudanese officials seriously, no matter what their level of responsibility is. These are also the reasons why our delegations abroad do not even have the minimum measure of protection. These are also the reasons why, except on rare occasions, our ambassadors abroad are subjected to the worst treatment. This even happens in Arab, Islamic, and African countries.

All this and more is happening at a point in time when there is utter confusion in the Sudan. Our consolation is that many people, especially those who are not in power, are doing something about this. They realize that the Sudan's sovereignty is not to be relinquished to foreigners, not even if they are Arabs, Muslims and Africans. Those people who are doing something about this situation can also tell the difference between objective unity, genuine fraternity, humanitarian relief, and technical assistance and between expansionism, domination and colonialism.

Columnist Objects to Aid Programs Influencing U.S. Policy

45040183a Khartoum *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic
29 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Ahmad Sulayman al-Muhami: "Let al-Sadiq Put His Relationship with Bush to Good Use; I Can Guarantee the Outcome"]

[Excerpts] The American HERALD TRIBUNE, on 26 November 1988, published a news item, supported by the Associated Press agency, that American congressional circles having contacts with the aid and relief operations have shown displeasure with the U.S. Government's position on the Sudanese Government and have requested that it take more decisive and more severely punitive steps against the Sudan in accordance with its position on the starvation which is putting an end to the lives of thousands of the weak and the young in southern Sudan.

The U.S. State Department replies that it is wending its way through numerous difficulties created by the Sudanese Government which are classified as stubbornness, in spite of a disability which is sometimes attributable to

the conditions of the civil war raging between the Muslim majority in the North and the Christian and nonreligious minority in the South.

U.S. State Department circles share the opinion which is held by aid officials. They think that the Government of Sudan, as well as the rebels, are using the aid and weapons "!" [punctuation as published] which they are receiving from relief agencies to reinforce their own positions and improve their image to millions of tormented and powerless citizens.

Roger Winter, director of the U.S. Refugee Assistance Agency, which is an organization that raises funds from voluntary contributions, says that he often asked government officials in Washington to adopt a sterner posture against the Government of Sudan. He wants Washington to show more displeasure with the Government of Sudan than it is showing now. [passage omitted]

Today, we do not wish to comment on such allegations. Suffice it to say that such harmful lies and shameless slander must not go unanswered. We believe that Mr al-Sadiq can influence the new administration, which will be sworn in and will be occupying the White House in a few weeks. We believe Mr al-Sadiq can influence the new administration more than anyone else in Sudan can and more than some African and Arab leaders as well. That fact may force Mr al-Sadiq to go to Washington sometime in the future. And that may be the secret behind the vicious campaign against him. It may be why the rebels' broadcasts say offensive things about him and try to harm him. We hope, God willing, we will be able to compare President Reagan's administration with what we expect from his successor, especially with regard to us and to Third World countries. We expect U.S. foreign policy to have the effect of putting our foreign policy on the right track. May God grant success.

INDIA

Defense Plan Fulfillment Stalled by Resource

Crunch

46001211 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
2 Jan 89 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 30—The Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs recently approved the seventh Defence Five Year Plan, four years after the Plan period began in March 1985. Even the formal approval is ambiguous since it has been passed minus its financial implications.

In a recent communication to the three wings of the Armed Forces, the Defence Ministry said that since just one year remains for the completion of the Plan period, the approval was merely a formal one and that the Services cases for various projects and demands pending for the past three or four years would be considered in the usual case-by-case basis.

With the Seventh Plan virtually defunct, the scramble is to see how much of it can be salvaged, but the current resource crunch and lack of direction from the top make it difficult to think of a rescue operation in the Eighth Plan or, for that matter, the Perspective Plan, which has been gathering dust in the Ministry for the past three years.

Modernization affected: The non-approval of the Plan has brought the Defence Services modernization schemes to a grinding halt and severely inhibited the maintenance and training programmes. However, of greater immediate concern is the situation arising from the acute cash crunch that has arisen since the Government in its wisdom decided to keep the increase in the defence expenditure at an artificially low figure when the 1988-89 Budget was presented in March.

No money for salaries: According to sources, last month the Services found it difficult to raise money to pay salaries. Bills for the leased communications circuits of the P&T Department have not been paid. Contracts for the supply of rations to the forces which are free to personnel up to the rank of Brigadier have not been renewed and are due to run out soon.

Expenditure on rations: Equally telling is the fact that the winter stocking in the forward areas in the mountains in Jammu and Kashmir is not adequate due to the cash flow situation. The Army has either to put the forces on reduced rations or incur even heavier expenditure by airlifting supplies.

Senior Armed Forces officials are complaining that while they have their own plans up-to-date and have been making presentation after presentation to the authorities, including the Prime Minister, the Government does not want to commit itself to any specific figure on resource allocations for Defence. This has resulted in

sharply varying annual budgets which have in recent times posted increases of over 25 percent and at other times to just eight to nine percent which does not even take into account inflation.

Manpower and modernization: Another point being made is that while some forward looking officers would like to see a reduction in manpower levels to ensure that the modernization plans are not affected, the reality is that with the extensive commitments, Indian forces are pressed severely for manpower. Of late, for example, the Border Security Force is almost absent from its policing duties on the Punjab border, being preoccupied in internal police duties. The task has been thrown on the Army's shoulders, in addition to the Sri Lankan commitment and the surprises that may appear like that in the Maldives.

The Army had in the Seventh Plan put up a plan to increase its force levels by 80,000. This was whittled down to 45,000, but as per the CCPA [expansion unknown] decision, no sanction has been made. Meanwhile, the Army had in anticipation acquired Infantry Combat Vehicles (BMPs) and other equipment for the new raisings. Currently, they are rusting in their depots with their warranty periods running out.

Advanced planning: Defence officials say that whatever be the outcome of the peace moves being undertaken by the country today, it is imperative that at least till balanced decisions are taken to reduce the forces, the training and modernization are continued. For this, planning has to be done well in advance and funds have to be identified. In fact, the report that India had decided not to undertake winter manoeuvres this year as a gesture to Pakistan is in reality a shrewd move to make a virtue out of necessity. Without money in the kitty, the Armed Forces could not have in any case undertaken the corps-level training exercises which could cost Rs 120-150 crores. The wisdom of cutting the training of the troops is, however, another matter.

Communalism Blamed on Lack of Leadership

46240017 Calcutta *RAVIVAR* in Hindi 31 Dec 88 p 32

[Article by Ghulam Rabbani Taban: "Lack of Real Leadership"]

[Text] India, according to our constitution, is a democratic and secular republic. Our leaders, however, have twisted the definition of secularism. Secularism means separation of religion and government. Our leaders have interpreted it as meaning developing tolerance to other religions. It is appropriate to have respect and have goodwill towards other religions. Every citizen should have the irrevocable right and freedom to follow a religion of his choice without any fear of persecution in a secular country. If religion is not kept separate from politics in a country with numerous religions, then one

religion or another will overpower the remaining religions. This tendency is becoming very apparent in our country where ceremonies of one religion are practiced at special government occasions.

There is more to this. We have started to see results of this practice. Let us review the furor over the Babri Masjid incident. We have no proof that the present city of Ayodhya is the birth place of Lord Rama. A news release from the Archaeological Survey of India recently declared that diggings in Ayodhya did not reveal anything to indicate that this city was Rama's birth place. There was no proof either about Babri Masjid being built where there was a Hindu temple once. Sectarian powers, however, were not willing to listen to any logical reasoning.

Muslim leaders have shut their eyes to all the economic and social problems of Muslims. They believe that the solution to the Babri Masjid problem will automatically eradicate all problems the Muslims are facing. Of course, this is not possible. All Indian people are facing back-breaking inflation, poverty, unemployment, insufficient education and health facilities, and other such problems. We can solve these problems only if we all work united. Do only the non-Muslims live in those hovels? Do not the Muslims live there also? Are not those spending their lives on street pavements Muslims? Why do not the Muslim leaders pay attention to their problems? Muslims lack a leader who understands political and social ramifications of Muslims.

The problem of Babri Masjid is very special. The Muslims are being unfairly treated and they have the right to object to this unjust treatment. The major question here is who is responsible for this injustice and to whom should they complain. There is no doubt that the responsibility for this problem lies with the government and not the Hindus. The government had been encouraging Hindu communalism for the last 2 ½ years. The approach the Muslim leaders have taken to oppose this trend had made Hindus apprehensive. Communal elements made the matter worse and all this resulted in a lot of bloodshed. The next elections are not very far in the future. The effective way to fight communalism is to strengthen the secular groups. The real sickness is the communalism and Muslim communalism is a part of this sickness. The fight over Babri Masjid and Rama's birth place is just a symptom of this sickness.

The Muslims are facing many other problems. Unemployment is just one example. There are few Muslims recruited into the army and the police forces. I was told by a member of Union Service Commission that very few Muslims took the competitive examinations offered by the commission. Perhaps, that is true. What about other jobs that do not require any examination? Why are not Muslims recruited into those jobs? Why are they discriminated against? Now let us talk about the Urdu language.

Before the last general elections, the Congress party had promised to make Urdu the second official language of Uttar Pradesh. Yet this promise was never fulfilled. No language can survive unless it is tied to employment. According to the three-language formula, a student desiring to learn Urdu has to give up English and English is still the key to a good job. The future of our children is ruined if they do not learn English in schools. They cannot learn Urdu if they opt to learn English. Our leaders appear to have never heard of these problems. Our leaders, instead of practicing positive politics, just preach people to unite on the basis of religion.

The only ray of hope of salvation from our country's ruin is the people—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and other communities—who do not support communalism. Acting upon their sentiments, communal forces can lead them on the wrong path only for a short time. Most Hindus and Muslims do not hate each other. They have historically lived together as friends, sharing joys and sorrows, helping each other when in need, and participating in each other's festivals.

Still, communalism has increased during the 41 years since India became independent. Why is this? We blamed the pre-independence communalism on the British 'divide and rule' policy. Why is then communalism flourishing after the independence? There is no dearth of secular powers in India. Why cannot we fight these communal groups? Why do not secular forces declare war against all these communalists? A national conference was called by the Left Front parties to fight communalism in Delhi in October 1987. Representatives of all secular groups were present in this meeting. We hoped that this group would start action against communalist forces. Can anyone tell us why this did not happen?

Corruption Said To Be 'Spreading Like Disease'
46070005 Calcutta DESH in Bengali
29 Oct 88 pp 38-39

[Article by Bidhan Singh: "Corruption in High Places"]

[Excerpt] Every day he must have 45 litres of milk and 20 chickens. The dining table alone cost 11,000 rupees. The drapes cost 20,500 rupees. He has 10 automobiles, and one of them is a Contessa. Also one luxury bus. The person who needs all these is a chief minister. He is Nandamuri Tarak Ramarao, in short, NTR. He describes himself as a hermit.

The royal expenses of the royal requirements of this hermit king is borne by the subjects of Andhra Pradesh. Since he is the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh, all his expenses are paid from the state treasury on government orders. In addition, he is the vice president of the Board of Trustees of Tirupathi Temple, the wealthiest in the country. As soon as he became the chief minister, N. T. Ramarao reorganized the Board of Trustees of Tirumala

Temple. Lord God Tirupati has been made the chairman, and he himself is the vice chairman. Because he is known as the reincarnation of Vishnu himself—and being a hero of many movies he is widely recognized as such. There are many stories in circulation about him. The remarkable thing is that there are many rumours and jokes in circulation about him. It is said that whenever there is any irregularities concerning financial matters, the reincarnate Rama Rao says that he had discussed the matter with the chairman, and there is no controversy at all.

In spite of all this, people do talk. Such a wealthy individual defaults on his income tax payments. He does not file his tax return at all. He does not even respond to the notices of the tax authorities. When Vishwa Pratap Singh was the finance minister of the Central Government, on 6 June 1985, the file concerning the income tax matters of the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh, T. N. Ramarao came to him. He commented that undoubtedly there was intentional suppression of facts. In other words, according to the central finance minister, NTR had been hiding his actual earnings.

Mr Vishwa Pratap Singh was only a minister of the Central Government. Though he was Raja Sahib, he did not want to be the Shah of Delhi. Currently as the leader of the Jan Morcha (Peoples' Front), Singh most certainly does not entertain such thoughts. Even if he did, he does not talk about it. In the eyes of the Raja Sahib, how could there be fault with this political ally hermit king? Allegations of corruption are always reserved for enemies—certainly not for friends. Politics and corruption always go hand in hand. Whenever possible, everyone makes use of it against his political opponents. Such corruption has tarnished the politics of India again and again. Some have been tarnished by it while some have remained untouched. Various details of corruption have surfaced involving the chief ministers of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Haryana, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and others.

In the title role of corrupt chief ministers, NTR, Ramakrishna Hegde, Antulay, Shivaji Nilengar, Biju Patnaik, Biren Mitra, Bindheswari Dubey, Pratap Singh Kairon and others have made their appearances. Some have resigned, some have not. As a matter of fact, they have used the allegation of corruption as a political weapon to strike their opponents. They have also received some cooperation from other opportunist politicians.

Let us consider the affairs of NTR. He was a popular movie star from the south. All of a sudden, in 1983, he became a political leader. The same persons who had created a great commotion at the entrance of superstar Amitabh Bachan in the political arena, welcomed NTR with open arms. Those who could not tolerate the criticism of Singh by TV star Arun Govil, now climbed aboard the fiery chariot dressed as Vishnu to cheer the fiery speech of incarnate Rama Rao in support of Devilal. The same CPM [Communist Party (Marxist)]

who had demanded Rajiv Gandhi's resignation over the Bofors scandal, in spite of an adverse ruling by the High Court, did not demand Rama Rao's resignation. They say, those who want NTR's resignation, in fact, want to support the Congress. A time has come to declare publicly that this political trial is itself a serious corruption. [passage omitted]

Columnist Sees Control of Indian Ocean As India's Destiny

46070006 Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 27 Nov 88 p 14

[Article by Basav Sarkar: "Indian Ocean and India"]

[Text] In the first week of November, the Indian Ocean suddenly created a turmoil in the subdued atmosphere of international politics. The sudden burst of adverse activity in the capital of the nation of Maldives, which is composed of over 1,200 small islands, projected a preview of the political environment in the region of the Indian Ocean in the 21st century. Most likely, India will be at the center of this development.

Geographically, the Indian Ocean and India have been interlinked for a long time. When India was called Hindusthan, this ocean was also called Hindusthan Ocean. Till the end of the 13th century, with the exception of the central and southern sections, only Indian merchant vessels used to ply in the northeastern and western sections of this ocean. The next 2 centuries were the dark ages of the Indian Ocean. With the exception of a few expeditions of Arab merchants, history does not record any further details.

Since the arrival of Vasco da Gama at the port of Calicut, the Indian Ocean has entered into a new age. Panikkar has described the following four and a half centuries as the era of Vasco da Gama in Asia. In other words, it was the beginning of the expansion of western domination in Asia. Under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, and later following his path, the Portuguese came first. Then, one after the other, came the Dutch, the French and the English.

That which Vasco da Gama could not achieve, his able successor, Albuquerque, tried to accomplish. The entire western coast of India was under his control. He was the first one among many western adventurers who dreamt of extending their control over the entire Indian Ocean with Goa as the naval base. However, though Albuquerque was a ferocious naval commander, his lack of statesmanship quality and farsightedness destroyed that dream of the Portuguese. The Portuguese specialized in attacking coastal nations and mercilessly torturing their population. The descriptions of these atrocities are prominently recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth century folk literature of Southern India.

Taking a lesson from the cruelty of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English adopted a different policy to enter and expand their influence in the coastal areas of the Indian Ocean. Instead of torturing and fighting with the local population, they adopted the path of understanding and cooperation. The age of transforming the merchants' yardsticks to the rulers' specters was only in its formative stages at that time. That trend started in the 18th century.

As a matter of fact, though the desert dwelling Moghuls of central Asia established their enormously powerful empire with Delhi as their capital, they did not have the awareness of the importance of the navy as a means of protecting their empire. In the descriptions of principles of warfare and tactics recorded in the military history of the Moghuls, there is no indication that they were concerned about protecting the coast lines of their empire.

However, in the age of Pax Britannica, when "Britannia rules the waves" was the settled fact, it was natural that the English would pay special attention to maintain the security of the shores of their empire.

Also, it was not only to protect their Indian empire, but also to maintain their colonial interests in the entire Afro-Asian region, that the English never minimized the importance of the Indian Ocean. In the early part of the 20th century, the famous naval commander of England, Admiral Mahan, while analyzing the political environment from the perspective of naval power, said, "Whoever controls the Indian Ocean, will dominate Asia." In his words, "In the 21st century, the destiny of the world will be decided in its waters." In the second half of the 20th century, much has happened to fulfill the prophecy of Admiral Mahan.

The Indian Ocean commands a unique position because of its geographical situation alone. The two principal oceans of the world, the Atlantic and the Pacific, stretch from the northern to the southern hemisphere. The sea passage there between the north and south poles is totally unobstructed. In the case of the Indian Ocean, the Indian subcontinent and Iran hover over the northern section like a giant roof, and have stopped its progression towards the north pole. Secondly, in the history of the Indian Ocean there is no mention of any naval warfare that brought about significant changes in the lives of the population of its coastal nations. The only exception that can be cited is the emergence of the naval power of Japan, and its sinking of the battleships, "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse" in Singapore harbor. Even this took place in an area at the entrance to the Pacific Ocean from the Indian Ocean. Thirdly, during the past 400 years, any nation that was able to bring a few ship loads of soldiers, was able to conquer some territory. In other words, there is no record of the use of the familiar expression "gunboat diplomacy" in international politics in this region. Fourthly, the Indian Ocean is an area where the nations' populations live close to the coast.

The importance of Diego Garcia as an American naval base can be understood from this. Fifthly, most of the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, whose poverty and political weakness are legendary are situated along the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Sixthly, much of the raw materials, such as petroleum, rubber, tin, manganese, mica, etc., which are responsible for the prosperity of the developed countries, are exported over the Indian Ocean. And, seventhly, the Indian Ocean is such an area where no powerful modern nation is situated. Since the 1950's, with the beginning of the emergence of many countries from their colonial bondage, the political map of Africa and Asia started to change rapidly, and keeping up with it, the importance of the Indian Ocean also started to escalate.

Foresighted English politicians sensed the changing of the political atmosphere as early as the 60's and granted freedom to Mauritius. However, from them, they purchased back the Chagos Islands and the coral islands of Diego Garcia to build naval bases. After America's defeat in Vietnam in the 70's, when in the eyes of western diplomats, creation of a political vacuum became apparent, the work for building a nuclear naval base in Diego Garcia started in full force. The argument was that they needed this base to curb Soviet influence in this area. There were hints that according to a secret treaty between India and Russia, the Soviets could use one or the other ports of India. Even a hint of this was enough justification.

It can be said that from that time on, in its own national interests and defense, India has started paying attention to the importance of the Indian Ocean. In 1970, for the first time, at the conference of nonaligned nations held in Lusaka, it was demanded that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace. Thereafter, at the conferences of the non-aligned countries held in Havana, Algiers, Colombo, New Delhi and Harare the same demand was made. Such a proposal was also adopted at the General Assembly of the United Nations. An international conference to create a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is being shelved year after year primarily due to American opposition. The problem is not being solved. During the last decade, especially during the Reagan administration, the serious differences of opinion between India and the United States on the issue of the future of the Indian Ocean and of Diego Garcia is well known.

From the inception of the Nehru administration, the Indian policy on the Indian Ocean was based on four main principles. One: if any antagonistic naval power becomes established in the Indian Ocean, India's economic development as well as its security will be endangered. Two: In its national interest, this area should remain peaceful; otherwise India's economic, commercial, political and military policies might have to undergo radical changes. Three: If any unfriendly power is able to spread its influence in this area, this might

create political instability. Four: if the power struggle between the two superpowers ever develops, the political stability and freedom in all of South Asia, including India, would be threatened.

From this perspective, whether or not the satisfaction of the Reagan administration in accepting India as a regional power in the Maldives incident, indicates a turn

in international politics is yet to be seen. Most likely, the alternative to the "balance of fear" policy is the understanding and cooperation of the Reagan-Gorbachev era. India has already established herself as a regional power. China, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have not objected to that. Most likely, it is the precursor to the probable political trend in the Indian Ocean in the 21st century, which Mahan had predicted some time ago.